1797

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

VOL. I.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL IN THE STRAND;
AND J. BALFOUR, AND W. CREECH, EDINBURGH.
MDCCLXXVII.

3

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK I.

BOOK I.

Birth and education of Philip.

PHILIP II. King of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V. and of Isabella daughter of Emanuel the Great, King of Portugal, was born at Valladolid on the twenty-first of May, one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven. He was educated in Spain under Ecclesiastics, noted for their bigotry, who were appointed by his father to instruct him; and, by this circumstance, several of those features in his character were either formed, or greatly heightened, which were afterwards so conspicuous in his conduct.

CHARLES, who was born in the Netherlands, and passed his early youth there, had, through his whole reign, entertained such a manifest partiality for that country, as was the source of much dissatisfaction to his Spanish subjects. But they were

BOOK I.

soothed by the preference which they received from the young prince, and flattered themselves with hopes, which were not frustrated, of obtaining, under his administration, that share of the royal favour, which the Flemings had enjoyed under the Emperor [a].

His character.

PHILIP early displayed sagacity, prudence, and application: and discovered likewise a disposition wonderfully suited to the religious instructions which he received. His mind, being naturally serious and thoughtful, gave a ready admittance to all the sentiments of that illiberal superstition, which formed, at that time, the distinguishing character of the Spanish Ecclesiastics.

His first marriage.

AT the age of sixteen, he espoused Mary, a princess of Portugal; who died in less than two years after her marriage, in child-bed; when she was delivered of Don Carlos, whose unhappy fate will be related in the sequel.

He is called by his father to the Netherlands.

PHILIP continued to reside in Spain, and was intrusted with the administration of the kingdom, till the year one thousand five hundred and forty-eight. At that time, he was called by his father into the Low Countries; where he arrived, in the beginning of the following year, with a numerous retinue of Spanish nobles. Upon his entrance into Brussels, as he was ever desirous to maintain the appearance of extraordinary piety, he went first to the cathedral church, to render thanks to the Almighty for his preservation; and then proceeded to the palace. After passing some days there with the Emperor, who, in all his behaviour, discovered that fond affection, which is natural to a person in the decline of life, towards an only son, he set out to visit the principal cities in the Low Countries, accom-

[a] Haræus Annales Belgii, &c. p. 570. Cabrera Vida del Filippe II. lib. 1. c. 1.

panied by the Regent, his aunt, the Queen Dowager of Hungary [b].

His reception there.

NOTHING could exceed the pomp with which he was every where received. In preſents, entertainments, illuminations, and tournaments, immenſe ſums were expended. The cities vied with each other in diſplaying that magnificence which their induſtry had enabled them to attain; and the people gave every where the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of their attachment [c].

His unpopular manners.

BUT Philip, in the midſt of thoſe ſcenes of feſtivity which were exhibited for his amuſement, and which were ſo well calculated to gratify a young, ambitious mind, could not conceal the natural auſterity of his temper. The Flemings obſerved, with anxiety, that there was a ſtriking contraſt between the father and the ſon. Charles was courteous and affable, but Philip, they perceived, was diſtant, haughty, and ſevere. The former could ſpeak with facility the principal languages of Europe, and uſed to diſcourſe familiarly with all his ſubjects; the latter had declined learning to ſpeak any other but the Spaniſh tongue, converſed little with the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and was almoſt inacceſſible to all, but the Spaniſh nobles. He lived in every reſpect as he was wont to do in Spain, wore a Spaniſh dreſs, and refuſed to conform, in any thing, to the modes and cuſtoms of the Netherlands [d].

Their effect on the Flemings.

THIS behaviour, equally ungracious and impolitic, made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Flemings, and created in them a jealouſy of the Spaniards, which they did not ſtudy to conceal. Charles having required the States to ſwear allegiance to Philip, as they had formerly done to himſelf, they rejected his requeſt; and refuſed to acknowledge Philip's right of ſuc-

[b] Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantiæ, &c. tom. ii. p. 653. Antwerpiæ 1623. Lud. Guiccardini, lib. ii. p. 127.

[c] Meteren, p. 9.

[d] Bentivoglio, Hiſtoria della Guerra de Fiandra, p. 5. In Parigi 1645.

 ceſſion,

BOOK I.

ceſſion, till he engaged to exclude all foreigners from any ſhare in the government of the provinces. And even to this nothing would have made them agree, but their reſpect for the Emperor, and the awe in which they ſtood of his power; for, if the diſtemper, under which Charles laboured at this time, had proved mortal, it was believed, they would have excluded Philip from the ſovereignty, and conferred it on Maximilian his couſin, ſon of Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia *.

The Emperor's ſcheme for procuring him to be elected King of the Romans.

FROM the Low Countries the Emperor carried his ſon into Germany, in order to facilitate the execution of a ſcheme, which he had lately formed, of having him elected King of the Romans. In the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, Charles had procured that dignity for his brother Ferdinand; but having now a ſon grown up to maturity, of whoſe talents for government he entertained the moſt favourable opinion, he repented of what he had done in behalf of his brother; and reſolved, in caſe he would not reſign, to endeavour to perſuade the Electors to annul his election.

Averſion of the Germans from that ſcheme.

BUT Philip's manners were not leſs diſguſting in Germany, than they had been in the Netherlands; and ſerved rather to alienate the affections of the Germans, than to conciliate their favour. His demeanour there was equally diſtant, reſerved, and haughty. He ſuffered even princes of the higheſt rank to remain uncovered in his preſence; and, in all his behaviour, affected a degree of ſtate and dignity which the Emperors themſelves had never been accuſtomed to aſſume. The Germans dreaded the dominion of one whoſe behaviour, even when he was courting their favour, was ſo cold and diſtant. They refuſed to liſten to the Emperor's propoſal; and they were confirmed in their reſolution of rejecting it, partly, by their remembrance of the calamities which they had ſuffered, from conferring

* Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 219. à Paris 1666.

the Imperial crown on Charles, whose power had proved almost fatal to their liberty; and partly, by their attachment to Ferdinand, joined with the affection which they bore to Maximilian, whose character and manners were entirely the reverse of those of Philip.

CHARLES was not of a temper to be easily diverted from his designs; and, being conscious of the great superiority which he had lately acquired, from his triumph over the confederacy of Smalkalde, he doubted not of being able to compel the electors to make choice of his son, provided he could prevail on Ferdinand to resign. To effectuate this, he applied himself with all that earnestness and ardour which he commonly discovered in the prosecution of his schemes. Nothing but the intoxication of prosperity could have inspired a prince of so great sagacity as Charles, with the hopes of succeeding in so chimerical an attempt. Ferdinand himself was in the full vigour of life; and, considering the declining state of his brother's health, his prospect of the Imperial dignity was not distant: his son had been educated with the view of attaining the same exalted station after his father's death; and, from the great popularity of his character, he had just ground to entertain the most sanguine expectations of success. Charles might easily have perceived, that no arguments which he could employ would persuade either the father or the son to forego a prospect so alluring. Accordingly, although he had, on all former occasions, found his brother's behaviour towards him respectful and complying; and, to give greater weight to his present application, made use of the powerful intercession of his sister the Queen Dowager of Hungary, to whom his brother was indebted for the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; yet Ferdinand withstood all his sister's entreaties, and rejected all the offers of compensation which were made to him. Charles had given his daughter in marriage to

BOOK I.

Maximilian, and intrusted him with the government of Spain, during Philip's absence, in order to sooth him under the disappointment which he was preparing for him, and to remove him to a distance from Germany, when his father's affection was about to be put to the trial. This young prince was greatly alarmed when he heard of the design which was carrying on against him; and having left Spain, and returned to Germany, he omitted nothing in his power, to confirm his father's purpose, and to render it unalterable. Charles saw at last the necessity of dropping, for the present, the prosecution of his scheme: and Philip left Germany, much dissatisfied with the electors, and other German princes, but with none more than with his kinsmen[f].

Philip returns to Spain.

FROM Germany he returned to Spain, where he held the regency of the kingdom, and acquitted himself of his charge, in such a manner as led his subjects to form a favourable opinion of his prudence, his industry, and his capacity for government. But the cotemporary historians have mentioned no particulars of his conduct during this period, that deserve to be recorded. He remained in Spain till his marriage with the queen of England, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-four.

His marriage with the queen of England.

No sooner was Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. seated on the throne, than Charles, whose ruling passion, towards the close of his reign, was to aggrandise his son, conceived the design of uniting England to his other dominions, by the marriage of Philip with the queen. Had Philip declined this match, it was believed, that Charles would have offered himself to Mary, rather than have lost so inviting an opportunity of augmenting his power. But the son was not less governed by ambition than the father; and

[f] Lud. Guicciardin. lib. ii. p. 128. Pallavicini Istoria di Concilio di Trento, lib. xi. c. 15. Thuanus, lib. vii. ab initio. Extrait des lettres de Marillac au Roy de France en Ribier, July 22, 1550.

readily

readily consented, at the age of twenty-six, to marry a princess of thirty-seven, disagreeable in her temper and manners, homely in her person, and entirely destitute of every female charm [g].

WHEN Charles found that Philip was not averse from the marriage, he immediately dispatched a messenger to the court of London to propose it; and Mary hesitated not a moment in declaring her consent. Philip's bigotry, which made him unamiable in the eyes of others, recommended him to her. She was ever strongly attached to her mother's family; and she considered how much so powerful an alliance would enable her to execute her favourite scheme of extirpating heresy from her dominions.

Objections of the English against it.

MARY's subjects had not the same reasons with their sovereign to make them fond of this alliance. They had beheld, for more than thirty years, that restless ambition with which the emperor was actuated: and they now received a striking proof of Philip's inordinate thirst after power, by his agreeing so readily to the intended marriage, to which there was nothing but motives of ambition that could allure him. Besides, they were well acquainted with his private character, and the prejudices which his haughty demeanour had, a few years before, created against him in Germany and the Netherlands. They dreaded the consequences of having their queen, whose temper was naturally rigid and severe, united to a prince of so imperious a character. They trembled at the thoughts of the danger to which their liberty and independence would be exposed; and they were filled with the most disquieting apprehensions of falling under the dominion of the Spaniards; a nation noted for their violent use of power in the Netherlands and Italy, infamous for the barbarities which they had exercised over the natives of America, and distin-

[g] Ribier, tom. ii. p. 457.

guished,

BOOK I.

guiſhed, above all other nations in Europe, for their bigotted attachment to the church of Rome[h].

Charles labours to remove them.

To quiet theſe alarms, Charles had recourſe to different expedients. He prevailed on Mary to ſuſpend her perſecution of the Proteſtants; and to reſume the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which ſhe had laid aſide ſome months before. He ſent over immenſe ſums of money to be diſtributed among the members of parliament; and he ordered the marriage articles to be drawn in terms the moſt honourable and advantageous to Mary and her ſubjects.

By theſe articles it was provided, that Philip ſhould have only the name of King, while the ſovereign power ſhould remain entire in the hands of Mary; that no foreigner ſhould be admitted into any public employment; no innovation made in the laws and cuſtoms, and no violation offered to the rights or privileges of the nation; that England ſhould not, in conſequence of the marriage, be involved in any war between France and Spain; that the heirs of the marriage ſhould not only inherit the Netherlands and England, but, in the event of Don Carlos's dying without iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, and to the reſt of Philip's hereditary dominions; and that if the queen ſhould die without iſſue, Philip ſhould have no claim to any ſhare in the government of England, but the crown of that kingdom ſhould devolve immediately to the lawful heir[i].

His ſucceſs.

These conceſſions were not altogether without effect. They did not indeed entirely diſpel the apprehenſions that were entertained; and many perſons thought that the more advantageous the conditions offered were, there was ſo much the greater reaſon for ſuſpecting that Charles and his ſon had no ſerious intention to

[h] Burnet's Ref. part ii. p. 284; and Carte, vol. ii. p. 297.
[i] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. part ii. b. ii. p. 260. Carte, b. xvii.

fulfil

fulfil them. But they furniſhed the courtiers, and other partiſans of the Spaniſh match, with ſpecious arguments in its defence: and deprived thoſe who ſtill remained averſe from it, of any plauſible pretext under which they might have procured an aſſociation againſt it. This was attempted by Sir Thomas Wiat and others, who ſucceeded ſo far, as to perſuade ſeveral hundreds of the people to take up *arms*; but this inconſiderable and ill-concerted inſurrection was quickly ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to confirm that power of the queen to diſpoſe of herſelf in marriage, which the malcontents intended to have controuled [k].

EVERY obſtacle being removed, and the articles of marriage ratified by parliament, Mary now employed herſelf in preparing for the reception of her future huſband; for whom, although ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe had conceived ſo violent a paſſion, as filled her mind with the moſt anxious impatience for his arrival. She was, at the ſame time, extremely mortified with his coldneſs towards her; and complained, that, although ſhe had ſo readily conſented to beſtow upon him both her kingdom and herſelf, he had never vouchſafed to write her a letter on the ſubject, or to ſatisfy her as to the cauſes of his delay in coming to England. At length he ſent the marquis De las Navas to inform her that every thing was in readineſs for his leaving Spain. But before his departure, the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that, having viſited the ſhrine of St. Jago in Galicia, he there heard maſs with much devotion; kneeling on the ground, without allowing the monks to furniſh him with a cuſhion; and recommending himſelf to the protection of the patron ſaint [l].

Philip's arrival in England.

HE ſet ſail from Corunna, in the beginning of July, one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four, and arrived at Southampton,

[k] Burnet, p. 262. Carte.

[l] Carte, b. xvii. p. 312. Cabrera, lib. i. c. 4.

 after

BOOK I.

after a prosperous voyage, on the 19th or 20th of the same month. In a few days after his arrival, the marriage ceremony was performed at Winchester; where Philip received, from the emperor's ambassador, the investiture of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, together with the titular kingdom of Jerusalem; all which Charles resigned to him on this occasion, as a testimony of the joy and satisfaction which the marriage afforded him, and in order to render his son a husband more worthy of his royal spouse[m].

His behaviour and manners.

HAVING brought with him a numerous train of Spanish nobility, Philip studied to dazzle the eyes of the English, by the pomp and splendour of his public appearances, and to gain their affections by his liberality. But he could not, with all his endeavours, hide the blemishes of his character. His natural reserve and haughtiness still appeared in all his demeanour. He was too much a Spaniard to relish any thing that was not Spanish. He could, on no occasion, comply with the manners of the English. He suffered even the chief nobility to remain in his presence without taking any notice of them; allowed no person to approach him without having previously obtained permission; and thus made himself difficult of access, even to those whose favour he wished to conciliate or secure[n].

He discovers his ambitious views.

IT soon appeared, how little he was satisfied with that article of his marriage-treaty, by which he was excluded from the government. At his desire, and in order to gain his affections, which Mary regarded more than either the interest of her people, or even her own importance in the kingdom, she requested of the parliament to declare him the presumptive heir of

[m] Burnet's Ref. p. ii. b. 2. Carte, b. xvii. p. 313. Summonte Hist. di Napoli, libro 9no, p. 263.

[n] Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. v. ii. p. 288. Carte, b. 17. p. 313.
" His carriage," says Bishop Burnet, " was such, that the acting him and his Spaniards " was one of the great diversions of queen Elizabeth's court."

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the crown, and to commit the adminiſtration of the ſtate into his hands.

BOTH houſes had hitherto ſhewn themſelves extremely obſequious to her will; but they ſaw now the neceſſity of putting an end to their compliances. They eaſily perceived the ſpirit and tendency of her demands, and conſidered them as an indubitable proof of her determined purpoſe to gratify her huſband's ambition, without regard to the fatal conſequences that might follow. They rejected both her requeſts. Although they had conſented to Philip's bearing the title of king, they would not agree to the ceremony of his coronation; and they obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt the emperor in the war which he was carrying on againſt France[e].

His artifice.

To overcome the prejudices, which, from this conduct of the parliament, Philip perceived were entertained againſt him, he reſolved to curb his natural diſpoſition, and to aſſume the appearance of moderation. With this deſign, he obtained from Mary the releaſe of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, whom ſhe had thrown into priſon, on ſuſpicion of their diſſatisfaction to her government. But there was no part of his conduct better calculated to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh, than his protection of the lady Elizabeth; againſt whom Mary had given ſuch proofs of jealouſy and reſentment, as rendered the life of that princeſs of importance to the nation. It was unfortunate, however, for Philip, that the favour which he ſhowed towards Elizabeth admitted of an interpretation very different from what he expected would have been put upon it. Men were not inclined to aſcribe to generoſity, in a prince of his intereſted character, an action to which he muſt have been prompted by this political conſideration, that if Elizabeth

[e] Carte, p. 315.

were

BOOK I.

were cut off, and Mary to die without iſſue, England would be inherited by the queen of Scots: by whoſe marriage with the Dauphin, both the crowns of Scotland and of England would be united to that of France [p].

Perſecution of the Proteſtants.

MARY had, in order to ingratiate herſelf with the people, and to advance the views of her huſband, ſuſpended her perſecution of the Reformers. But her zeal and bigotry were too violent to be long reſtrained; and Philip was not inclined, either from principle or temper, to oppoſe thoſe ſanguinary meaſures which ſhe was now determined to purſue. Courts no leſs arbitrary than the Spaniſh Inquiſition were inſtituted; and the ſame barbarous puniſhments, which that tribunal denounces, were inflicted on great numbers of perſons, without diſtinction either of age or ſex. No perſon doubted that Mary was of herſelf ſufficiently prone to employ thoſe dreadful ſeverities which were exerciſed; but as all men knew how implicitly ſhe was devoted to her huſband's will, they could not help conſidering them as the conſequence either of his advice or his approbation [q]. Philip was ſenſible of the odium to which he was expoſed; and, in order to remove or leſſen it, he had recourſe to the ridiculous expedient of making his confeſſor, a Franciſcan friar, deliver before him, a ſermon in favour of toleration [r]. But notwithſtanding this artifice, which was too groſs to impoſe upon any perſon, and though Philip ſeldom appeared openly to act a part in the adminiſtration, the prepoſ-

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. b. ii. p. 287. Carte, p. 316. Camden's Apparatus.

[q] Philip's Hiſtorian Cabrera aſcribes the perſecutions to Philip as matter of praiſe, p. 28. lib. i. c. 7.

[r] This ſermon was delivered on the 10th of February; yet, on the 24th of May following, Philip joined with Mary, upon occaſion of Bonner's declining to take all the odium of the perſecution upon himſelf, in writing to that brutal prelate, requiring him to proceed in the execution of the laws againſt Heretics; ſo as that, through his good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed. Burnet's Collection of Records, No. 20.

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fessions against him still remained. All his conduct was beheld with an eye of watchful jealousy and distrust; nor was it possible for Mary to obtain any higher concession from the parliament in his favour, than this, that if she should die, and leave issue behind her, Philip should be protector during the minority.

Philip leaves England.

For several months, this concession was not deemed so insignificant as it afterwards proved. A belief prevailed throughout the kingdom, that Mary was with child, and Philip, and even Mary herself, believed it[s]. Philip remained in England while there was any reason to entertain hopes of so desirable an event; which might have realised that power at which he had aspired ever since his arrival in the kingdom. But when those appearances, which gave rise to the belief of Mary's pregnancy, were found to be nothing but the approach of a dropsy; when all prospect of her ever having children was annihilated, and her anxiety for offspring, joined with her natural sourness and jealousy, had preyed upon her health, and rendered her person, as well as her conversation, disagreeable; Philip left England, after having staid in it fourteen months, and passed over to the Netherlands[t].

The emperor's resignation of his dominions.

There the emperor was preparing to execute a resolution which he had formed of resigning his dominions, in order to pass the remainder of his life in retirement. At the time of Philip's marriage with the queen of England, he had ceded to him the kingdom of Naples, and the Dutchy of Milan; and had little reason to be satisfied with his son's behaviour towards him, after giving so strong a proof of his paternal affection and munificence.

[s] On the 30th of April, a report was spread that she was actually delivered of a son. All the bells in London were set a ringing. Bonfires were lighted up in every corner of the city. A Te deum was sung in the cathedral of St. Paul's; and a priest indulged his credulity to such a height as to describe, with great particularity, the proportions and features of the young prince, whom he represented as the healthiest and most beautiful that had been ever seen. Carte, p. 317.

[t] Haræus, Carte, p. 317. Burnet, part II. b. ii. p. 312.

BOOK I.

Philip, besides refusing to come over to Flanders, where Charles was desirous of seeing him, unless he were cloathed with some authority in that country, during his abode in it, insisted, that the grant of the Italian States should be absolute and unconditional; and no sooner had he entered upon the possession of them, than he displaced his father's ministers, in order to make room for creatures of his own. This undutiful behaviour of his son did not deter the emperor from resolving to resign to him all the rest of his dominions. On the contrary, it appears to have been his principal motive in forming this resolution; as it gave him a clear discovery of Philip's imperious temper, and shewed that he had now reduced himself to the disagreeable alternative, of either contending with his son, or of yielding to him[u].

HAD Charles enjoyed the same vigour, either of body or mind, which he possessed some years before, it is probable that Philip's behaviour would have operated upon him very differently, and have determined him to abridge, rather than augment, his son's power. But finding himself worn out, partly by the excruciating pain which he had long suffered from frequent returns of the gout, and partly by his incessant activity, and continual application to business, he perceived that he must, for the future, either trust to his ministers, which he had hitherto avoided; or sink ere long under the weight of the government of so many States as were subject to his dominion. It was therefore become necessary for him to disengage himself from, at least, a part of those cares which oppressed him. If his son's ambition had been more moderate, or his temper of mind more complying, Charles might have invested him with the chief branches of administration, and have still retained the supreme authority; or, after resigning

[u] L'Evesque, p. 24, 25. Summonte, lib. ix. p. 263.

to him the ſovereignty of a part of his dominions, he might have reſerved the remainder in his own hands; but he foreſaw, that Philip's temper would, in either of theſe caſes, have proved the ſource of continual uneaſineſs to him; and this he could not, with dignity, avoid by any other means, than by retiring from the world, and making an abſolute ceſſion of his whole dominions [a].

DETERMINED by theſe motives, he reſigned the ſovereignty of the Low Countries in October 1555, and that of Spain in the month of January immediately following. But he retained poſſeſſion of his Imperial crown for ſeveral months longer, till he had made another fruitleſs attempt to perſuade his brother to relinquiſh his claim to the empire, in behalf of Philip. Charles was retiring from the world under a conviction of the vanity of human greatneſs, yet he was as ſolicitous to ſecure an acceſſion of that greatneſs to his ſon, as if he had believed that it conſtituted the ſupreme felicity of man. His own experience had furniſhed him with the ſtrongeſt proof, that dominions ſo widely extended, conferred the appearance of power more than the ſubſtance or reality; that they are the ſource of continual and diſtracting anxiety; that they engage the poſſeſſor in enterpriſes beyond his ſtrength, and that the right government of them is a taſk above the capacity of any individual: yet he deſired nothing ſo much, as to load his ſon with that burden, which he himſelf had found intolerable, and under which he had ſunk long before the period when old age obliges men to quit the ſcenes of active life. Charles had long foſtered that prepoſterous ambition of princes, which prompts them to the purſuit of power, without regard to the great end for which alone it is deſirable, the happineſs of their ſubjects: and it was become impoſſible for him

[a] Ribier, p. 485.

entirely

BOOK I.

entirely to divest himself of this passion, although he was determined never more to indulge it.

The truce of Vaucelles.

WITH respect to another part of his conduct at this time, it is much easier to enter into the motives from which he acted. Previously to his abdication, he had been exceedingly desirous to have peace established with France, in order to give his son leisure to recover his dominions from that exhausted state to which his own continual wars, together with the sums transmitted to England, had reduced them. In this, however, all his attempts had hitherto failed. But, having been detained in the Low Countries by the severity of the season, and his bodily distress, much longer than he intended, he had the satisfaction, before his departure, to employ his endeavours successfully in effectuating the truce of Vaucelles: and, before the expiration of that truce, there was ground to hope, that the several points of difference between his son and the French monarch, would be amicably adjusted. Soon after this, he set out for his retreat in Spain: where, having buried, in the solitude of a convent, all his schemes of glory and ambition, he seldom inquired, or even suffered his domestics to inform him, concerning what was passing in the world [y].

[y] G[illegible] iv. p. 198.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK II.

BOOK II.

Philip's power and dominions.

NOTWITHSTANDING Charles was disappointed in his scheme of transmitting the empire to his son, Philip was still the most powerful monarch of the age. In Europe, besides the united kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, he possessed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Dutchy of Milan, Franche-Compté, and the Netherlands; in Africa, Tunis, Oran, the Cape-Verd, and the Canary Islands; in Asia, the Philippine and Sunda Islands, and a part of the Moluccas; and in America, the empires of Peru and Mexico, New Spain and Chili, besides Hispaniola, Cuba, and many other of the American islands. The mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potosi, were, at the time of Philip's accession, a source of greater wealth than almost all the other princes in Europe were possessed of [a]. His fleet was much more

[a] They brought him 25,000,000 of guildres yearly. Meteren.

BOOK II.

numerous than that of any other European power. His troops were better diſciplined, and more accuſtomed to war and victory: and they were commanded by the ableſt, and moſt experienced generals of the age.

SUCH extenſive power, and ſuch copious reſources, could not but appear extremely formidable to the other European States; eſpecially when they reflected upon the dark, imperious character of the prince to whom they belonged. For although Philip had neither his father's valour, nor his enterpriſing activity, yet he was plodding, induſtrious, and penetrating. He had already ſhewn that his ambition was not leſs ardent than that of the emperor; and it was the more to be dreaded, as it was concealed under the cloak of fervent zeal for the intereſt of religion.

State of Europe.

BUT how much ſoever Philip's power and character were fitted to excite jealouſy in the neighbouring ſtates, there were few of them, at this period, in a condition to counteract his deſigns.

Of England.

The Engliſh had, ſince Mary's acceſſion, loſt much of that importance in Europe, which they had enjoyed for half a century before. Commerce was either neglected, or oppreſſed; their troops were undiſciplined, and diſuſed to war; and their navy was in the moſt languiſhing condition. During Philip's reſidence among them, they had given proof of their native ſpirit of independence, by refuſing to admit him to any ſhare of the adminiſtration; but they had, in every thing elſe, ſhewn themſelves tamely ſubmiſſive to the will of their weak, bigoted queen: and there was ground to apprehend, that, inſtead of oppoſing him, they would be compelled by her to ſupport him, in the purſuit of any violent meaſures in which his ambition or bigotry might engage him.

Of Germany.

HE had no greater reaſon to expect oppoſition from Germany than from England. For whatever diſguſt his competition with

Ferdinand for the Imperial crown might have created, there was no probability that it would ever occaſion any violent diſſenſion, or open rupture between them. Ferdinand was not yet fully ſettled in the poſſeſſion of Hungary. He was diſquieted with apprehenſions that the Sultan would ere long renew hoſtilities againſt him in that kingdom; and, in order to provide againſt this event, and ſecure to himſelf that ſupport, of which, in caſe it ſhould happen, he would ſtand in need, he laboured aſſiduouſly to eſtabliſh concord among the ſeveral princes of the Germanic body, and to compoſe the animoſities which the differences in religion had produced.

Of Portugal.

PORTUGAL had, at this time, reached the ſummit of its proſperity and glory. Thoſe diſcoveries and conqueſts in the moſt diſtant regions of the globe, which had advanced that kingdom to a rank ſo much ſuperior to what it held before, were almoſt completed. But John the Third, under whoſe government and auſpices ſo great a number of diſcoveries and conqueſts had been made, was now in the decline of life; beloved by his people; reſpected by his neighbours; and only ſolicitous to maintain peace, and to render his ſubjects happy.

Denmark and Sweden.

THE thrones of Denmark and Sweden were filled by Chriſtiern the Third and Guſtavus Erickſon. Under the juſt and mild adminiſtration of the former monarch, Denmark was beginning to recover from that exhauſted ſtate to which civil diſſenſions, the calamities of foreign war, and the oppreſſion of an odious tyrant lately dethroned, had reduced it: while the Swedes, who, under Guſtavus, had thrown off the yoke of the neighbouring kingdom, and beſtowed their crown upon their brave deliverer, were enjoying under him the ſweets of liberty, and laying the foundation of that greatneſs to which they afterwards attained. Neither of theſe nations, however, were yet in a condition to take a part in the

BOOK II.

the affairs of the other European powers; and the patriotic princes who ruled over them, found ſufficient employment in eſtabliſhing tranquillity within their kingdoms.

Of the Pope's dominions.

IN Italy, the dominions of the church, lately much diminiſhed by the grant which Paul the Third had made of the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia to Octavio Farneſe his grandſon, were ſhut up between the Dutchy of Milan on the one hand, and the kingdom of Naples on the other. The ſovereign Pontiff, therefore, was more dependent on Philip, than upon any other prince, and was much more likely to find his intereſt in courting that monarch's favour, than in promoting any ſcheme of oppoſition to his deſigns.

Tuſcany.

COSMO de Medici, duke of Tuſcany, had been greatly indebted to the late emperor for the ſovereignty which he enjoyed; and his dominions were, by the emperor's favour and his own wiſe policy, become ſo conſiderable, that only the viceroy of Naples, or the governor of Milan, could give him any juſt ground of uneaſineſs. Both gratitude and intereſt ſeemed to call on that political prince to attach himſelf to the king of Spain, and to cultivate his friendſhip.

Savoy, Parma, and Placentia.

OCTAVIO de Farneſe, duke of Parma, had been deprived of the dutchy of Placentia by the emperor; and Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, had been ſtript, in his father's lifetime, both of Savoy and Piedmont, by the French. Without the favour of Philip, neither of theſe two princes had any proſpect of recovering his dominions.

Venice.

THE republic of Venice, formerly ſo powerful and ambitious, had, after the league of Cambray, diſcovered the folly of their ambition; and they now adhered ſtedfaſtly to the cautious maxim, of maintaining a ſtrict neutrality in all the quarrels of the European powers; whoſe friendſhip, and eſpecially that of

of Philip, they were ſolicitous to ſecure, as the only means by which the invaſions of their formidable enemy, the Turkiſh Sultan, could be repelled.

Of France.

FROM this view of the European States at the time of Philip's acceſſion, it is evident there was no other counterpoiſe in Chriſtendom to his power, but France: which was not indeed of ſo great extent as Philip's dominions, but poſſeſſed ſuch advantages in its ſituation, in its people, and in its government, as made it at leaſt the ſecond kingdom in Europe, and qualified it to ſerve as a rampart of the general liberty, againſt the power of Spain. Although the frontier of this mighty monarchy did not reach ſo far as it does at preſent, yet it extended from the Britiſh Channel to the Mediterranean and Italy, and from the Pyrenees to Germany and the Netherlands; and, through all that ſpace, was unmixt with the territories of any other ſtate; lying between Philip's dominions in Spain or Italy, and the Netherlands; and in the time of war, rendering it difficult for his troops in one of theſe countries, to co-operate with thoſe in the other.

Character of the French.

DURING the reigns of ſeveral princes, the French nation had been accuſtomed almoſt perpetually to the uſe of arms, and had never become ſufficiently acquainted either with the arts, or with the ſweets of peace, to be averſe from war. The ſpirit of chivalry, the heroic valour, and romantic love of military fame, which, whilſt the feudal government ſubſiſted, proved the ſource of ſo many calamities to the kingdom, ſtill animated in a high degree the French nobility; but having taken a different direction, inſtead of engaging them in hoſtilities againſt one another, it inflamed them with the laudable ambition of courting toil and danger in ſupport of the glory of the nation and the crown.

Henry II.

HENRY the Second, who governed this warlike people, had already ſhewn himſelf poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable ſhare of that

BOOK II.

that ardent and ambitious spirit by which his father was so eminently distinguished. He had not indeed the bold military genius of Francis; but this defect in his character was abundantly supplied by his generals: among whom were the Mareschal de Brisac, the conqueror of Piedmont; the Constable Montmorency, so much celebrated for his heroic valour, and Francis of Lorrain duke of Guise, who had lately acquired immortal honour by his defence of Metz against the emperor.

His allies.

HENRY was formidable, from his connexions with foreign powers, as well as on account of his internal resources. The queen of Scots having been educated at his court, and betrothed to his eldest son, her kingdom was likely to become a province of France. And, in imitation of his father, he had courted assiduously the friendship of the Swiss, and entered into a strict alliance with the Sultan; from the former of whom, he might, in case of a rupture with Spain, receive assistance by land, as he could, from the latter, by sea, on the coasts of Spain and Italy.

IT appeared almost from the beginning of Henry's reign, that he had thoroughly imbibed his father's passions, his ambition to recover possession of those Italian dominions which had occasioned so many bloody wars, and his jealousy of the Spanish or Austrian power and greatness.

PROMPTED by these passions, he had, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, taken Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, under his protection, in opposition both to the pope and to the emperor. And he had entered into a league against Charles, with the Protestant princes in Germany: than which, he could not have given a stronger demonstration of his jealousy of the emperor; since the principal end of this alliance was, to save from ruin in Germany, that religion, the professors of which he had persecuted in France with unrelenting rigour. The war

which

which was the consequence of this alliance, continued with various success, till a stop was put to it, for a few months, by the truce of Vaucelles above mentioned. By this truce the contending parties were to retain possession of their conquests for five years, unless their respective claims were adjusted before the expiration of that term. This was the principal article; and, in virtue of it, not only Metz and Toul and Verdun, which rendered France secure on the German frontier, but almost the whole of Savoy and Piedmont, (the restoration of which the emperor was in honour bound to procure to the duke of Savoy) were to remain in the hands of the French. Charles would never have consented to this condition, which he had rejected when it was proposed in the preceding year, had he not thought it necessary that his son should enjoy some years of peace. Henry, on the other hand, had the highest reason to be satisfied; yet it was by him the truce was violated. Into this measure, of which he had much reason afterwards to repent, he was drawn, partly by that hereditary ambition, which had possessed so many of his predecessors to gain a footing in Italy, and partly by the interested counsels of the family of Guise; but chiefly by the solicitations and importunity of the sovereign pontiff.

Paul the Fourth, one of the most singular characters of the age, and whose conduct furnished, at this time, a striking contrast to that of the emperor, had been lately advanced to the papacy; after having passed the greatest part of his life either in the study of the learned languages and scholastic theology, or in the austerities of a cloister. Born of the family of Caraffa in the kingdom of Naples, he had in his youth enjoyed several rich preferments, and been employed as a nuncio in Naples, in Spain, and in England. But having grown tired of this public life, he had relinquished the paths of ambition; resigned his benefices;

BOOK II. fices; instituted an order of Monks, and lived, for several years, in strict conformity to the rigid rules which he prescribed them. Paul the Third with difficulty persuaded him to quit his retirement, and accept of the dignity of Cardinal: nor would he have been induced to comply with the pope's request, by any other motive, but the hope of contributing towards the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy; against which he had ever shewn the most furious and bigoted zeal. He was the oldest cardinal when Marcellus died; and this circumstance served not a little to promote his election; as it flattered the other competitors with the prospect of seeing, ere long, another vacancy in the papal chair.

But his advanced age had given him neither moderation nor prudence, nor any useful acquaintance with the world. He talked perpetually of the power belonging to the successor of St. Peter, and his superiority to princes, in terms that might have been suffered in the dark ages of the church, but which, from the revolution men's sentiments had lately undergone, appeared, even to his courtiers themselves, ridiculous and extravagant. In all his demeanour he discovered a degree of haughtiness, that astonished those who observed it; and he began his pontificate at the age of seventy nine, with an impetuosity and violence seldom to be met with in the ardour of youth [b].

His nephews. He had long held a distinguished character for sanctity of manners, and disinterested zeal for the honour of the Holy See; but having now attained the highest dignity to which he could aspire, and having no longer any reason to disguise his sentiments, he devoted himself, with a blind attachment, to his nephews, and seemed to have no other aim, in the exercise of his pontifical power, than to advance their interests, and assist them

[b] F. Paul, lib. v. Onuphrii Panvinii vita Pauli IV. Thuani, lib. xv. c. 12. Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. part ii. b. ii.

in the execution of their ambitious designs. Unfortunately for the peace of Europe, their ambition could not be satisfied with the dignities, which, as supreme pontiff, he had the power of conferring; although he bestowed on Count Montorio, his eldest nephew, the dukedom of Palliano, of which he had violently dispossessed Mark Antony Colonna; on the second, the government of Rome, with the county of Bagno, and the title of Marquis of Montebello; and had made the youngest a cardinal, and legate of Bologna. But these men aspired at some sovereign or independent establishment, such as had been procured by Leo and Clement, for the Medici; and by Paul the Third, for the family of Farnese. They saw no other means of acccomplishing their design, but by dispossessing the emperor and his son of their Italian dominions: and to attempt this, both Paul and his nephews were incited by motives of resentment, as well as interest. The younger Caraffa, formerly a soldier, and one of the knights of Malta, though now a cardinal, having, when he served in the emperor's army in Germany, challenged a Spanish officer to single combat, Charles had put him under arrest; and afterwards, when the pope had conferred on him the priory of St. Jerom in Naples, the emperor's viceroy had prevented him from entering upon the possession of it [e].

Paul himself, during his residence as nuncio in Spain, having acquired the esteem of Ferdinand the Catholic, had been admitted by him into the council of state, and had retained his place there after the accession of Charles. But having, on some occasion, spoken with too much freedom in the consistory at Rome, Charles had testified his displeasure with him, by ordering his name to be struck out of the list of counsellors. Not satisfied with this, he had first opposed his being admitted to the archbishopric of Naples,

[e] Pallavicini, p. 60. Father Paul, lib. v.

BOOK II.

to which Paul the Third had presented him, and afterwards, though Charles was persuaded by Julius the Third to consent to his investiture, yet he had molested him in the exercise of his jurisdiction; and had exerted all his influence in the conclave to prevent his advancement to the papal throne[a].

THESE injuries made a deep impression on the proud and fiery temper of the pontiff; nor was he solicitous to conceal his indignation. Even in the presence of the cardinals of the Imperial party, he used to inveigh bitterly against the emperor, and to join menaces to his invectives; and would sometimes add, that they might inform their master, if they pleased, of what he said.

Their artifices.

IT is probable, however, that he would not have dreamt of having recourse to arms, had not his nephews, and particularly the cardinal, the most ambitious and intriguing, employed various artifices to deceive him. They gave him information of nocturnal assemblies held in Rome, by the partisans of the emperor, in which, measures were concerted prejudicial to his authority; they informed him of a detection which they had made, of persons hired by the emperor, to poison, or assassinate both him and them; and they carried him intercepted letters writ in cypher, from which, according to the cardinal's interpretation, it appeared, that some secret machinations were in agitation against him among the Imperial ministers.

BY these and other means of the same nature, they at once roused his fears, and inflamed his resentment; and he at length resolved, in conformity with their advice, to endeavour to engage the French king, whose war with the emperor still subsisted, to enter into a treaty of alliance with him against the common enemy.

[a] Summonte, lib. x. p. 269. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xiv. F. Paul, lib. v.

BOOK II.

Paul forms an alliance with Henry II.

Having, with this view, called such of his courtiers as he confided in, to a secret conference, at which he desired the French ambassador, Avanson, to be present; he informed them of the several plots against him and his nephews, which had fortunately been detected, and lamented that, notwithstanding it had pleased God to appoint him to be the common father of Christians, yet his children, by conspiring to accomplish his destruction, had reduced him to the painful necessity of taking arms against them, in order to maintain that sacred dignity with which he was invested. And he concluded with saying, that his hopes of deliverance from the dangers which threatened him and the church, were founded principally on the power and zeal of his most Christian Majesty.

Avanson replied to this discourse, by assuring him that the king and kingdom of France would be ready to devote themselves to the defence of his sacred person, and the Apostolic See; and Paul dismissed the assembly, after observing that he hoped ere long to see *one* of the king's sons in possession of Naples, and another, of the Dutchy of Milan.

Caraffa the cardinal, impatient of delay, immediately set on foot a treaty between his uncle and Avanson; and having, without much difficulty, brought it to a conclusion, he transmitted it to the court of France *.

The most important articles were these, That the king of France should take upon himself the protection of the pope, and all the family of Caraffa: that the pope should furnish an army of 10,000 men; and the king the same, or a greater number, if necessary, to co-operate with the ecclesiastical forces, in restoring liberty to Tuscany, and in expelling the Imperialists and Spa-

* From this treaty it is evident, that however solicitous Paul was to advance the ambitious and interested views of his nephews, he was not entirely under their direction, nor altogether regardless of the interest of the Holy See. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xv.

BOOK II.

niards the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. And that, in case their arms should be attended with success, the pope should immediately grant the investiture of these kingdoms to a younger son of the French monarch; reserving for the Ecclesiastical State, the city of Benevento, with its territory, and an annual tribute of 20,000 crowns; besides an independent establishment, in the kingdom of Naples, of 25,000 crowns, for the Count Montorio; and another of 15,000 for Antonio de Caraffa [f].

THIS treaty met with such a reception at the court of France, as Avanson had given reason to expect. Henry was allured by the prospect which it opened to him of acquiring those Italian dominions, for which his predecessors had so often contended; and was of himself strongly inclined to comply with the pope's proposals. The constable Montmorency, ever bold, and often rash in action, but in counsel provident, circumspect, and cautious, employed several cogent arguments to dissuade him; and was warmly seconded by the cardinal of Tournon.

THEY observed, that, as the emperor was about to resign his dominions, it was highly probable, that either a peace, or a truce with Spain, might soon be established; they represented how pernicious all those enterprises in Italy had been, which Henry's ancestors had undertaken, in circumstances much more favourable than the present, when the nation was exhausted by a long succession of expensive wars. And they endeavoured to convince him of the imprudence of unnecessarily prolonging war with a prince possessed of so many resources as the emperor, depending on the feeble aid of a pope, at the age of eighty; after whose death, those very forces on which he now relied, might probably be ranged on the side of the enemy.

[f] Summonte, lib. x. p. 278.

HENRY,

HENRY, who had been long accuſtomed to pay the higheſt deference to the conſtable's opinion, would have yielded to theſe arguments, had they not been warmly oppoſed by the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain; who flattered the king's ambition, and thereby obtained an eaſy victory on this occaſion over their rival. Whether there was ground for the ſuſpicions which were entertained, that Guiſe had formed a deſign on the kingdom of Naples, and the cardinal on the papal throne, it is impoſſible to decide; but, from the intereſted and ambitious characters of theſe men, there is reaſon to believe, that neither a regard to the welfare of France, nor the glory of the king, determined them to offer the counſel which they gave. They knew that the management of the war, and the conduct of all the negociations relative to it, would be put into their hands; and they hoped, if the event were proſperous, to enjoy in Italy, a more independent authority than they could expect to exerciſe in France, where they muſt ſubmit to perpetual controul from the preſence of the king, or from their rivals in the court.

"So fair an opportunity, ſaid the cardinal, of recovering thoſe dominions in Italy, which the crown of Spain has uſurped, ought not to be neglected. It was from the ſovereign pontiff, that the French monarchs had originally received their title to the Neapolitan kingdom; and it would not be difficult for the king to aſſert his claim with the aſſiſtance of the preſent pope, whoſe family would, by their credit and influence, engage the friends of France to ſtand forth in defence of a cauſe which their anceſtors had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported. And with regard to what had been ſaid of peace with the emperor, as the proſpect of peace was extremely precarious, ſo it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any benefit that would accrue from it, could be put in the balance with that acceſſion of glory, which

BOOK II.

which the king, and the French nation, would derive from the proposed alliance."

THIS specious, but flimsy declamation, produced the desired effect on the improvident temper of the king. The cardinal of Lorrain, agreeably to his expectations, was immediately ordered to repair to Rome; and the cardinal of Tournon, though extremely averse from the measure adopted, was required to accompany him. Not long afterwards, the treaty was concluded in form, and both parties began secretly to prepare for putting it in execution.

Truce of Vaucelles, Dec. 15, 1555.

BUT Henry soon forgot the obligations which he had brought himself under in this treaty; and, in less than two months after it was signed, agreed to the truce of Vaucelles. The cardinal of Lorrain was at that time in Italy; and the constable, taking advantage of his absence, represented to the king in so strong a light, the benefit which would arise from the truce, as overcame the resolution of that unsteady prince, and persuaded him to abandon those alluring prospects with which he had been dazzled and deceived. The cardinal, after his last audience of the pope, was about to set out from Rome, in order to solicit the duke of Ferrara and the republic of Venice to accede to the alliance; when intelligence was brought him from the court of France, that, in a conference held at Vaucelles for an exchange of prisoners, a truce, with the condition of leaving both parties in possession of their conquests, had been proposed by the Imperialists. But he thought it so exceedingly improbable that either the emperor or Philip would consent to this condition, that he still persisted in his journey, and left his information with the cardinal of Tournon, to be communicated to the pope. It made no greater impression on Paul, than on the cardinal of Lorrain.

He

BOOK II.

He endeavoured to make Tournon believe, that such a truce would give him pleasure; but it was an event, he said, to be desired, rather than to be hoped for, or expected.

Consternation of Paul.

NOT many days after, he received certain intelligence from his nuncio at the court of France, that this event, which he thought so exceedingly improbable, had taken place; that the truce was actually signed, and that Henry, as well as the emperor and his son, had sworn to observe it; the first at Blois, in the presence of the Count de Lalain, and the two last before the Admiral de Coligni at Brussels. The news of this transaction excited in Paul and his nephews the most alarming apprehensions. They were conscious of having given the emperor and Philip the justest ground of offence. They could not suppose that their conduct had been entirely secret, and they were now exposed to the resentment of enemies, by whom they must be quickly overwhelmed[g].

His dissimulation.

IN order to elude that vengeance which they justly merited, Paul affected to rejoice, as became the father of the Christian church, at seeing an end put to the calamities of war. Under this mask he concealed his intention for some time, and that he might conceal it still longer, and more effectually, he sent two nuncios, a cardinal of the name of Rebiba, to the emperor and Philip; and his nephew cardinal Caraffa, to the king of France. He gave the same public instructions to both, and ordered them to make an offer to these princes of his mediation for establishing a solid peace on the foundation of the truce; and to treat with them of the measures proper to be taken for assembling a general council. But the real design of Caraffa's embassy was, to persuade Henry to fulfil the conditions of that alliance with the pope, into which he had entered some months before[h].

[g] Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xvi. [h] Ibid.

REBIBA

BOOK II.

REBIBA was purposely detained in Rome for several weeks; but Caraffa, having carried along with him mareschal Strozzi, a kinsman of the queen of France, proceeded in his journey to Paris with the utmost expedition. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art and eloquence necessary for executing the difficult negociation which he had undertaken. And it was not without good reason, that the pontiff, when he reflected on his nephew's talents, still flattered himself with hopes of success.

His nephew persuades Henry to violate the truce.

UPON his arrival at Fountainbleau, Caraffa found the courtiers divided, as formerly, with regard to the subject of his embassy. When Henry first entered into alliance with the pope, the constable was suspected of having too faintly opposed it; not from any doubt which he entertained of its inexpediency, but, either from the faithless compliance of a courtier to the inclinations of the king; or from a desire to have his rivals of the family of Guise removed to a distance from the court. But whatever ground there was for this suspicion, it is certain that Montmorency had been the chief promoter of the truce of Vaucelles; and that he now shewed himself extremely averse from that shameful violation of it, which Caraffa had come to solicit.

THE duke of Guise, on the other hand, and his brother the cardinal, were still as much bent on the Italian war as ever; and made no more scruple to exhort their master to undertake it, after he had sworn to observe the truce with the emperor, than they had done formerly, when he was at liberty, consistently with his honour, either to embrace or reject it.

BETWEEN the opposite counsels which were given him, the unstable mind of Henry remained for several days in suspense. Elated with the success which had hitherto attended his arms, and inflamed with the ambition of acquiring the Neapolitan kingdom, he was inclined to a renewal of the war, and withheld his

his consent from it, only out of respect for his oath, and his deference to the opinion of the constable. At length Caraffa having gained over the queen, through the influence of Strozzi; and the Guises having employed the still more powerful intercession of the dutchess of Valentinois[1], Henry began to yield to the importunity of such powerful solicitors, and admitted Caraffa to a private audience, which he had requested, in the hopes of completing that victory over the constable's remonstrances, and the king's remaining scruples, which his associates had begun. On this occasion, having, with the usual ceremony, presented to the king, a consecrated sword, he remonstrated to him, at great length, on the breach of his engagements with the pontiff; and when he found that Henry was not offended with this freedom, he next addressed himself to his ambition, and represented, that a more favourable juncture than the present could not be desired for attempting to expel the Spaniards from Italy. That the reins of government were now abandoned by the emperor, and committed to his son; who, besides his inexperience, was extremely unacceptable to the Italian states and princes, and was not yet firmly established on his throne. That his exchequer was drained by those expensive wars in which the emperor had been almost continually engaged; and his armies were neither so numerous nor so flourishing as at any former period since the commencement of his father's reign. While, on the other hand, the French army would have easy access to Naples, through the territories of the pope; and would thence likewise be furnished, both with fresh troops, and with abundant supplies of ammunition and provisions.

HENRY found it difficult any longer to withhold his consent. But there were two points on which he required still farther satis-

[1] The famous Diana of Poitiers, Henry's mistress.

BOOK II.

faction, than either Caraffa's arguments or promises had given him. He could not entirely divest himself of the scruples which arose from his oath; and nothing offered by Caraffa had taken off the force of the constable's objection against entering into engagements with a pope in the extremity of old age, who, it was likely, would die before the end of the proposed alliance could be accomplished. Caraffa had foreseen both these difficulties, and was prepared to remove them. He produced from Paul a power to absolve Henry from the obligation of his oath; he engaged that such a number of cardinals, partisans of France, and enemies to Spain, should be nominated at the next promotion, as would secure to Henry the absolute disposal of the papacy, in the event of the pontiff's death; and, for his further security, he promised, in all events, that Bologna, Ancona, Paliano, Civita-Vecchia, and even the castle of St. Angelo, should be put into his possession.

The war was now resolved upon without further hesitation. Caraffa immediately dispatched a messenger to Rebiba, who, according to his instructions, was advancing by slow journeys towards Brussels, to inform him of what had passed, and to desire him to return to Rome. Henry received absolution in form from the obligation of that sacred law of Nature which enjoins the observance of an oath; and, at the same time, he received a dispensation from a law of nations, considered as no less sacred, by which it was held to be unchristian and barbarous to begin hostilities without a previous declaration of war[k].

As he flattered himself that his transaction with Caraffa might be for some time concealed, he was determined, if possible, to attack the emperor and Philip, while, trusting to the truce, they were off their guard. And thus did this monarch, who was not

k Thuanus, lib. xvii. c. vii. Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. x. p. 71.

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not lefs virtuous than moft of his cotemporary princes, deliberately refolve to add treachery to the perjury and falfehood into which he had been betrayed; under a perfuafion that his conduct was not only juftifiable, but even honourable, and meritorious in the fight of God and man. Such is the fafcinating power of falfe religion; and fo pernicious to fociety that impious pretenfion to the power of annulling the facred obligations of morality, which was claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and which, through the ignorance of their votaries, they were permitted for many ages to enjoy.

CARAFFA had endeavoured to conceal his negociation at the court of France, under the pretext of treating with the king about the eftablifhment of peace, and the calling of a general council. But the emperor and Philip were too well acquainted with his character, to be fo eafily deceived. They had penetrated into the real intention of the embaffy, and had for fome time kept a watchful eye over all the motions both of Henry and the pope.

The violence of Paul.

THE conduct of Paul was extremely ill-calculated to elude the penetration of the Spanifh minifters. Befides excommunicating the family of Colonna, and depriving them of their territories, he had treated with much feverity and injuftice all thofe whom he fufpected of being attached to the Spanifh intereft; and had received, in the moft gracious manner, fome Neapolitan exiles, who had fled to Rome. Some of his letters having been intercepted, he had put to the torture Antonio de Taffis poftmafter at Rome, though a Spanifh fubject; and, in violation of a privilege long enjoyed by the kings of Spain, had given his office to another. He had put under arreft De la Vega, Philip's ambaffador at Rome; and, with no fmall degree of vanity, fet on foot a trial in the confiftory, againft Philip himfelf, on pretence

BOOK II.

that, as his liege-lord, he had a right to deprive him of the kingdom of Naples, on account of his having failed in the payment of 700 ducats, which he alleged was an annual tribute due from the possessor of that kingdom to the Holy See[1].

WHILE Paul gave these impotent proofs of his resentment, his nephews were making diligent preparation for the approaching war. They were employed assiduously in repairing the fortifications of Rome, Paliano, and other places. And, having levied a considerable number of troops, they engaged Camillo Orsini, one of the ablest generals of the age, to command them.

The duke of Alva.

THE administration of Philip's affairs in Italy was at this time in the hands of Ferdinand de Toledo duke of Alva; a singular and distinguished personage in Philip's reign, whom there will be frequent occasion to mention in the sequel. He was arrogant, vain, and proud; violent, inflexible, and relentless; but patient, prudent, and sagacious; inured from his youth to arms, and possessed of consummate skill in the art of war. He had been intrusted with the supreme command of the emperor's forces in Germany; and, though unsuccessful in the siege of Metz, had discovered uncommon vigour and abilities. He did not, however, enjoy the same degree of credit with the father, which he afterwards attained under the son; whom he nearly resembled in his character, and whose favour he had courted with great assiduity and success. Through the influence of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's principal favourite, who beheld with a jealous eye Alva's growing favour with the king, and was desirous, on that account, to have him removed to a distance from the helm of government, he had, about a year before, been appointed viceroy

[1] Gianone, liv. xxxiii. c. i. The duke of Alva's letter in Summonte, tom. iv. p. 270. Clement VII. had renounced this claim.

of

of Naples, as well as governor of Milan, and commander in chief of all the Spaniſh forces in Italy.

Philip had been fully informed by Alva, of the pope's conduct with regard to him; and even before he knew of his alliance with Henry, he could not entertain any doubt of his intentions. Had he permitted Alva to act with vigour, and to improve the advantage over Paul, which his defenceleſs ſituation afforded him, he might have got poſſeſſion of all his fortified places, have deterred Henry from entering into any new connexion with him, and have thereby prevented the renewal of the war. But being convinced that Henry would never violate the truce of Vaucelles, by which he was ſo great a gainer; and knowing that the pontiff could do nothing without the aſſiſtance of the French, he gave orders to Alva, to uſe every art of perſuaſion, before he ſhould have recourſe to arms. Alva, though naturally averſe from all mild expedients, complied with his inſtructions; and, by letters and meſſengers, complained, remonſtrated, and even ſoothed and flattered both Paul and his nephews. All his endeavours, however, were ineffectual. They ſtill continued their preparations; and gave him ſometimes haughty, and always unſatisfactory replies. At length the duke of Alva ſent Pirro de Loffredo, with one letter to the college of crrdinals, and another to Paul[m]; in which, after enumerating the various injuries which his maſter had received, and renewing his former offers of peace and friendſhip, he concluded with proteſting, that if his offers were again rejected, the pope ſhould be chargeable with all the calamities that might follow. Before the arrival of Loffredo, Paul had received intelligence from France of the ſucceſs of the cardinal's negociation; and the duke of Alva's letter ſerved only to precipitate him into new extravagances. He threw Loffredo into

[m] The original letters are preſerved by Summonte, lib. x. and dated Auguſt 21, 1556.

prison,

BOOK II.

prison, and would even have put him to death, had not the college of cardinals interposed[n]. He then gave orders to Aldobrandin, the consistorial advocate, to finish the process which he had begun against Philip, on account of his failure in paying tribute for Naples; and, after hearing the cause pleaded, he passed sentence, depriving him of the sovereignty of that kingdom[o].

THIS violent conduct of Paul gave great offence throughout Europe; and, in Italy, served rather to obstruct, than to promote his designs. The Venetians refused to accede to his alliance; and the Neapolitans, perceiving what the ambition of his nephews aimed at, with respect to them, entered warmly into all the prudent measures which the duke of Alva planned for their defence.

Philip's scruples.

BUT Philip was not so much affected by Paul's extravagant behaviour, as might have been expected from a young, ambitious, powerful monarch, of a temper of mind impatient of injuries and affronts. Notwithstanding the contumelious treatment which he had received, he still continued irresolute, and discovered an amazing reluctance against proceeding to extremities.

SOME historians affirm, that he had early imbibed, from the Spanish Ecclesiastics, who had the care of his education, the highest veneration for the Holy See; and entertained some scruples as to the lawfulness of employing force against the sovereign pontiff. Others assert, that these scruples were mere grimace and affectation. He had already formed the plan of subjecting Europe to his dominion; and zeal for the Catholic faith was both the pretext and the instrument which he had resolved to employ for accomplishing his design.

[n] Summonte, lib. x. p. 277. Gianone, lib. xxxiii. c. 1.

[o] Gianone adds, that he was dissuaded from publishing it by Camerari of Benevento, the great Civilian, a Neapolitan exile.

NEITHER

NEITHER of these accounts ought to be entirely rejected; and neither of them ought to be admitted as satisfactory. On the one hand, it is impossible to doubt that ambition, and not religion, was the ruling principle of Philip's conduct; and on the other, when we reflect on the pains which were taken, from his earliest infancy, to inspire him with an attachment to the popish faith, and consider how serious and zealous he ever appeared in the profession and support of it; it will be impossible to suppose, that in religious matters, he was entirely hypocritical. It is improbable that any person could act so uniform a part as Philip did, without feeling, in a considerable degree, the power of that motive which he held forth to the world as the principle of his conduct. Nor does it afford the smallest presumption against this supposition, that his conduct was, on many occasions, inconsistent with religious sincerity. His religion was not surely pure and genuine. It was neither the religion of nature, nor that of Christ, but was the barbarous superstition of the church of Rome, which, in the age of Philip, instead of deterring men from vice, tended to encourage them in the practice of it, by inculcating upon them the highest reverence for an order of priests, supposed to be invested with the power of absolving from the guilt and punishment of the most enormous crimes. To Philip's superstitious veneration for the Holy See, therefore, may be ascribed, in part, both his moderation in the present juncture, and a resolution which he formed, to consult the most distinguished divines, with regard to the lawfulness of waging war against an enemy whose person he deemed so sacred and inviolable.

THOSE men knew well what counsel was suited to his present circumstances; and they declared, that, although it behoved him to begin with supplicating his Holiness, as the universal father of the church, yet, if his entreaties were rejected, the law of

BOOK II.

of nature would permit him to defend his territories, and to vindicate his right by force of arms [p].

Alva's military operations.

By this anſwer, Philip's religious ſcruples were removed. Still, however, he lamented the neceſſity he lay under, of beginning his reign with hoſtilities, againſt a power, with which, more than with any other, he was deſirous of cultivating peace and friendſhip. But at laſt, after having loſt a great deal of time in negociating, he ſent orders to the duke of Alva to take the field.

1556.

That general, having ſome time before gone from the Dutchy of Milan to the kingdom of Naples, and fixed his head-quarters near the confines of the Eccleſiaſtical State, began his march in the beginning of September one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix, with a well-diſciplined army; which, though ſmall in number, was ſuperior to that which the pontiff had provided to oppoſe it. In a few weeks Alva reduced ſeveral towns in the Campagna di Roma; and took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the ſacred college, and of the future pope. The people of Rome were thrown into conſternation by his approach; and many families left the city, in order to avoid the calamities of a ſiege. Paul ſtill retained all his wonted haughtineſs, and poured out threats and anathemas againſt the enemy.

He grants a truce.

But the duke of Alva ſtill continued to advance till his troops could make incurſions almoſt to the gates of Rome. In this ſituation cardinal Caraffa found his uncle's affairs upon his return from France. The army which he had obtained from Henry, had already reached Piedmont; but, being detained there by the rigor of the winter, could not arrive in time to ſave Rome from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. In order to prevent this, Caraffa prevailed on Paul, who, from pride, and ignorance

[p] Ferraras, vol. ix. p. 373.

of

BOOK II. 1556.

of his danger, was extremely reluctant to apply for a cessation of arms; and Alva, at the request of his uncle, the cardinal of St. James, consented to a conference with Caraffa, in the Isle of Fiumicino. He could not be ignorant, that this crafty Italian's intention was only to amuse him till the French army should approach. But an interval of repose was no less expedient for himself, than for the enemy. His army was greatly diminished by putting garrisons into the conquered towns. His ships with provisions had been long detained by contrary winds; and his presence was necessary in Naples, to hasten his levies, and put the kingdom into a posture of defence against the arrival of the duke of Guise. Influenced by these considerations, Alva readily consented to a truce of forty days; and, immediately after concluding it, he set out for Naples, where he exerted himself, with great assiduity, in completing his preparations for the next campaign.

THE duke of Guise had now passed the Alps, with twelve thousand foot, and near two thousand horse, and had advanced as far as Rheggio. There he was met by the duke of Ferrara, who, having acceded to the alliance between the pope and Henry, had brought along with him near seven thousand men. Guise deliberated for some time whether he should begin his operations with laying siege to Cremona, Milan, and other towns in the north of Italy; or, leaving these behind him in the hands of the enemy, should march directly towards Naples. He had been earnestly exhorted by mareschal de Brissac, whom he saw in Piedmont, to embrace the former of these measures, as being the safest and most practicable; and in this opinion the duke of Ferrara concurred; but Guise had received positive orders from the king, to be directed in this matter by the pope, who insisted that he should advance without delay towards Naples. In com- 1557.

BOOK II. 1557.

pliance, therefore, with his inſtructions, he purſued his march ſouthward till he reached the frontiers of that part of the kingdom which is called the Abruzzo. At his arrival in Rome, he was received in triumph, as if he had been already crowned with victory. But he ſoon found that he had been cruelly deceived by Caraffa, with regard to the aſſiſtance which that prelate had ſo confidently promiſed him in the name of the pontiff; who had not been able either to raiſe the troops which he had ſtipulated, or to furniſh his magazines with an adequate quantity of military ſtores. Guiſe was extremely mortified at his preſent diſagreeable ſituation, and ſaw that he was likely to meet with nothing but diſgrace and ſhame, where he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of adding to his former glory. He laid ſiege, however, to Civitella, and carried on his operations againſt it, for more than three weeks, with his wonted ſpirit and intrepidity. After having made a breach in the wall, he attempted to take the place by ſtorm. But his troops were repulſed with great loſs by the garriſon, who were bravely ſeconded by the inhabitants. Even the women diſcovered, on this occaſion, the moſt undaunted reſolution, and ſeemed determined to lay down their lives, rather than ſubmit to the dominion of the French; whoſe inſolent uſe of victory, in former Italian expeditions, was not yet, after many years, obliterated from their minds.

He lays ſiege to Civitella.

The duke of Alva had reſolved, with his uſual caution, to act on the defenſive; and to fortify his camp on the ſouth ſide of the river Piſcarra, which lay between him and the enemy. But when he found that their enterpriſe againſt Civitella detained them ſo long, he concluded that the accounts which he had received of their ſtrength muſt have been exaggerated; and therefore he croſſed the river, and advanced towards them.

BOOK II. 1557. But is obliged to raise it.

Guise was extremely unwilling to quit the siege; but, having received certain intelligence that the enemy's army was superior to his own, he listened to the advice of mareschal Strozzi, and retired into the ecclesiastical territories. Alva followed him: but neither he nor Guise seem to have wished for a general engagement. The former could not have ventured on it with any probability of success; and the latter thought it absurd to risk a kingdom without necessity on the chance of a battle[q].

Whilst these things passed in the Abruzzo, Mark Antony Colonna made rapid progress in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he reduced several forts and towns, and obtained a victory over the pope's forces, commanded by Julio Orsini and the marquis of Montebello.

By these disasters, Paul was overwhelmed with terror. And when he was lamenting in the consistory, the calamities in which his dominions were involved, he expressed his dread, that ere long the Vatican itself would be in the hands of the enemy. He added, that he longed now to be with Christ; and, as if he had engaged in the present war from zeal for the faith, and not from ambition and resentment, he concluded with saying, that he would wait for his crown of martyrdom without dis[illegible]

He was willing, however, to preserve his earthly crown as long as possible; and had sent to the duke of Guise, intreating him to hasten towards Rome for his defence. This general was now on his march thither; full of vexation and chagrin on account of the inglorious part which he had acted. He called upon cardinal Caraffa to fulfil his promises; and he employed all his interest to procure supplies from the court of France. But the pope's resources were already exhausted; and the French monarch

[q] Haræus says, that Guise laboured to force Alva to engage; but this does not appear from the detail in Thuanus.

BOOK II.

1557.
The war in France.

had more than sufficient employment at home for all the troops which he had reserved, after providing for his Italian expedition.

PHILIP had, for the reasons above mentioned, entered into the war with reluctance; but having, in the origin of it, received the highest provocation from Henry, as well as from the pope, and knowing that, in the beginning of his reign, the eyes of all Europe would be fixed upon his conduct, he had resolved to exert his utmost vigor, and to attack Henry, in that quarter, where he could most successfully annoy him.

WITH extraordinary industry and dispatch, he assembled a numerous army in the neighbourhood of Charlemont, under the command of Philibert Emanuel duke of Savoy. And Emanuel cheerfully undertook the charge committed to him, as it gave him at once an opportunity of displaying his great abilities, and of taking vengeance on the French king, by whom he had been expelled from his dominions. Of the army which was collected, only a small part consisted of Spaniards; the greatest part were either Dutch, and Flemings, or Germans. In levying them, Philip was much indebted to the zeal and alacrity with which his subjects in the Netherlands espoused his cause. For the States, notwithstanding the prejudice to their commerce, which they foresaw must arise from the war, granted, with unusual liberality, all the supplies which he demanded. But while in this they gave proof of their loyalty, they discovered, by another part of their conduct, their jealousy and discontent. They reserved in their own hands the administration of the money which they voted him; and appointed commissioners to apply it to the payment of the troops. This action, which proceeded from their jealousy of the Spaniards, made a deep impression on the dark resentful mind of Philip; it contributed to alienate his affections from his Flemish subjects; and gave him an inveterate prejudice

prejudice against that free constitution of their government, by which they were thus enabled to limit his authority. But he was sensible how improper it would have been, in the present conjuncture, to discover his resentment, or to dispute their privileges. He agreed to accept of their supplies, with the condition annexed to the grant of them; and proceeded to complete his preparations.

Philip engages England in the war.

NOT satisfied with the army which he had drawn together from Germany and the Netherlands, augmented by a reinforcement sent from Spain, he resolved, if possible, to persuade the English to enter into the war. With this view he went over to England. He found the privy-counsellors, the queen herself, and the whole body of the people, averse from his design. It has almost never happened, either before or since that period, that war with the French was not agreeable to the English. During many centuries they had been accustomed to consider their French neighbours as enemies and rivals, with whom they often shewed an eagerness to contend, when it was greatly their interest to remain at peace. But their enmity towards the French yielded at this time to their jealousy of the Spaniards; and they entertained the most irreconcilable aversion to the proposed alliance. Mary, as just now hinted, was not of herself inclined to the war, but notwithstanding this, and the cold indifference with which Philip had ever treated her, she was unable to resist his solicitation[r].

HER kinsman cardinal Pole, and her other counsellors, represented, that it was a chief article of her marriage, that the alliance with France should be preserved inviolate; that the violation of it would excite an universal alarm with regard to the observance of the other articles; and that the present state of her finances

[r] Van Meteren. Thuanus, lib. xix. c. vii. Camden's Apparatus.

would

BOOK II. 1557.

would render it impossible for her, if she should enter into the war, to acquit herself with honour. But Philip having said, that if he were not gratified in his request, he would leave England, and never return to it; Mary was deaf to every argument that could be employed to dissuade her from her purpose; and, without further hesitation, she ordered war to be declared in the city of Rheims, with the usual ceremony; on pretences which were either entirely false, or extremely frivolous. As she knew it would be in vain to apply to her parliament for assistance in carrying on a war so disagreeable to the nation, she had recourse to the oppressive expedient of extorting loans from individuals and corporations. By this, and other means of the same nature, she equipped a considerable fleet, and raised an army of eight thousand men; of which she gave the command to the earl of Pembroke.

When this reinforcement had joined the duke of Savoy, his cavalry amounted to twelve thousand, and his infantry to between forty and fifty thousand; an army much superior to any which Henry could muster to oppose it. This inconsiderate monarch had not expected that Philip would have been able to make so great an effort, and saw now the folly of his late engagements with the pope. He was not wanting, however, either in prudence or activity, in repairing his fault, and providing for the security of his kingdom. He committed the chief command of the forces to the Constable, whom, notwithstanding his averseness from the war, he chose to employ, as the ablest of all his generals, to conduct it; and a great number of the principal nobility and gentry flocked to the camp, eager to display that zeal and bravery, which the French nation have often exhibited in defence of their king and country.

BOOK II. 1557. The siege and battle of St. Quintin.

THE constable could not for some time conjecture on which side the duke of Savoy intended to turn his arms. His first movements were calculated to beget a persuasion, that he designed to enter France by the way of Champaign; but no sooner had he drawn the French army to that quarter, than, changing his rout, he marched into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin.

August. Admiral Coligni.

THIS town must quickly have surrendered to so great a force, had it not been defended by the celebrated Jasper de Coligni, admiral of France, who made, on this occasion, a conspicuous display of those extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the most illustrious personages of the age. Being governor of the province in which the place lay, he thought it his duty to exert himself to the utmost for its preservation; and he forced his way into it, through the midst of the surrounding army, with a body of troops, which he animated to expose themselves to every hazard of war in its defence. Immediately after his arrival, he expelled the Spaniards from the suburbs, and set fire to the houses. But he soon perceived, that, by reason of the neglected state of the fortifications, the garrison was still too weak; and that, without a reinforcement, it would be impossible to hold out long against so numerous an enemy. Of this he gave immediate intelligence to the Constable his uncle, and at the same time informed him where it would be easiest to introduce the succour which he requested. The Constable, anxious for his nephew's safety, and sensible how necessary it was for the preservation of the kingdom that the duke of Savoy should be detained before St. Quintin, appointed d'Andelot the admiral's brother, to the command of a select body of two thousand foot, destined for the relief of the besieged. A person of the name of Valpergue, well acquainted with the face of the country, had been sent by the admiral, to serve as a guide to this reinforcement.

BOOK II. 1557.

ment. But whether he miſtook his way, or the duke of Savoy had got intelligence of the deſign, is uncertain. D'Andelot found the enemy prepared to receive him, and was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that he eſcaped with difficulty, after the greateſt part of his troops had been cut to pieces.

By this diſaſter the beſieged were extremely dejected, and the admiral had much occaſion to exert all the addreſs and eloquence which he poſſeſſed, to prevent them from abandoning themſelves to deſpair. From a high tower in the town he could view the country round, and ſaw that the place was completely inveſted on every ſide but one, where there was a marſh or lake, too deep in ſome places to be paſſed on foot, and in others too ſhallow to admit of boats. Through this marſh, however, he hoped that his friends might introduce a reinforcement. Having concerted with the conſtable the time and manner of putting his deſign in execution, he threw up the earth in a part of the marſh, and reduced the water into a canal large enough to receive ſome ſmall boats which he had prepared. When this was done, the Conſtable advanced toward the lake with all his forces, and gave d'Andelot an opportunity of entering the town, with between four and five hundred men [a]. But, in making his approach, the Conſtable had led his army through certain narrow defiles, which he muſt repaſs before he could put his troops in ſafety. His miſconduct, in thus expoſing his army to ſo great a riſk in ſight of an enemy ſo much ſuperior, was quickly perceived by the duke of Savoy; and a council of war was immediately called to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued. Many of the officers thought that the Conſtable ſhould be ſuffered to retire; but count Egmont, general of the horſe, whom Philip afterwards uſed ſo ungrate-

[a] Laboreur additions, &c. p. 375.

BOOK II. 1557.

fully, maintained with warmth[t], that it was practicable to attack him in his retreat with the highest probability of success. The duke of Savoy approved of the plan of attack which the count proposed, and committed the execution of it to himself. No time was lost. Egmont advanced instantly at the head of the cavalry, while the duke hastened forward with the infantry to support him; and finding the enemy unprepared for their defence, he soon threw them into disorder. The Constable exerted himself strenuously to retrieve his error; but count Egmont, seconded by the infantry, with the general at their head, advanced with such impetuosity, that the Constable found it impossible to recover his troops from the confusion into which they had been thrown. Perceiving that the fortune of the battle was irretrievable, and stung with the consciousness of the imprudence of which he had been guilty, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, and seemed determined not to survive the reproach in which his rashness had involved him. He was dangerously wounded, and would have fallen in the field, as he desired; but, being personally known to certain Flemish officers, he was by them rescued from the soldiers and taken prisoner. His army was entirely broken. Three thousand men were killed on the spot, and four thousand taken prisoners; among whom, besides the Constable and his two sons, there were many persons of distinction, and several of the first nobility of France. On the side of the victors only eighty men were killed; a certain proof that the attack had been conducted with no less prudence than intrepidity.

The French defeated.

PHILIP, although a slave to the lust of power, yet unambitious of military glory, remained at Cambray till intelligence was brought

[t] Auctore, consuasore, & prope dicam, perfectore Egmondensi. L. Guicciardini, p. 150. lib. iii.

BOOK II. 1557.

him of the victory. He then entered the camp with great pomp, and when the duke of Savoy and count Egmont approached him, he received them in the most gracious manner, and expressed his gratitude for the important service they had performed, with a degree of sensibility and joy which he was seldom accustomed to discover [*]. His conduct on this occasion was in another respect more agreeable to his character. In memory of the battle, he vowed to consecrate a palace, a church, and monastery, to St. Laurence, because it was on the anniversary of that saint that he had obtained the victory. He afterwards religiously fulfilled his vow by building the Escurial; for which he reserved immense sums, notwithstanding all the difficulties in which, through his expensive wars, he was almost continually involved.

THE battle of St. Quintin might have been attended with the most important consequences, if Philip had complied with the advice of some of his general officers, who exhorted him to lead his army without delay into the heart of France. But this measure was too bold to be relished by a prince like Philip, whose caution often bordered on timidity. He gave orders to proceed in the siege of St. Quintin; saying, that it would be dangerous to leave so strong a place behind him in the hands of the enemy, and that every army that ventured to penetrate into a powerful kingdom, like that of France, ought first to secure their retreat. His officers were the more easily reconciled to these orders, as they believed it impossible for the besieged to hold out above a few days longer. But they were disappointed in their expectations by the skill and intrepidity of the admiral; who, in order to save his country and retard the progress of the Spanish arms, had resolved to bury himself in the ruins of the place, rather than agree to a surrender. He inspired the garrison with the same generous reso-

[*] Cabrera, lib. iv. c. 7.

lution;

lution; and though the fortifications were weak and ruinous, he withstood all the vigorous and skilful efforts of the duke of Savoy till the seventeenth day after the renewal of the siege, when the town was assaulted in eleven different places at one time, and both the admiral and his brother, after a brave and obstinate defence, were taken prisoners on the breach. During the assault, Philip shewed himself to his troops in complete armour; and this was the only time of his life in which he was ever seen in a military dress. He allowed his army to plunder the town, as a reward of their labours; but gave strict orders to preserve the churches and the relics of the tutelary saint.

In the mean time Henry's ministers, who had been overwhelmed with consternation, employed to the best advantage the leisure which the admiral's heroic bravery afforded them. They levied forces in every quarter of the kingdom, gathered together the remains of the vanquished army, sent for the troops which served in Piedmont under the mareschal de Brissac, and recalled the duke of Guise. In a few weeks the whole eastern frontier was in a posture of defence, and an army collected in Picardy under the duke of Nevers, able to make head against the enemy. Philip perceived then that he had suffered the only opportunity to escape which he would probably ever have, of penetrating into France and seizing the capital unprepared. He was now under a necessity of being satisfied with employing his troops in enterprises of less splendor and importance; and the only fruit of his victory at St. Quintin was, the taking of the inconsiderable towns of Catelet, Ham, and Noyon; after which, he dismissed a great part of his army, sent home his English forces, and retired himself to Brussels *.

* Thuanus says, that the English and Spaniards quarrelled after the battle, and that this was the reason why Philip so hastily broke up his camp. Lib. xix. p. 660.

BOOK II. 1557.

The recalling of the duke of Guife from Italy rendered it neceffary for the pope, though exceedingly reluctant, to apply for peace; to which Philip readily confented upon much more moderate terms than could have been expected, confidering that Paul was now entirely at his mercy, and that no enemy remained in Italy able to withftand his power. The fame motives, whether religious or political, that made him fo averfe from entering into this war with the pontiff, determined him to have it brought as foon as poffible to a conclufion. Almoft the only condition which he required was, that Paul fhould obferve a ftrict neutrality between France and Spain. All the ecclefiaftical towns which had been taken were reftored; and orders fent to the duke of Alva to go to Rome, and fupplicate the Pope's forgivenefs, both in his own name, and that of his mafter, for their crime of invading the facred poffeffions of the church. In thefe conditions, and in the manner in which they were fulfilled, Paul appeared as if his arms had been victorious; and Philip, as if he had been humbled and overcome. Such was the reverence which the latter either felt in reality for the Holy See, or thought it neceffary to affect, in order to promote his ambitious defigns [y].

The duke of Guife returns from Italy.

In this manner did Philip put a period to the war with the fovereign pontiff; but that with Henry ftill continued. This prince, confcious of his incapacity, and fenfible that an exertion of the higheft abilities was neceffary in the prefent critical fituation of his affairs, devolved almoft his whole authority to the duke of Guife, and created him viceroy of France, under the name of Lieutenant General of the kingdom. The French nation knew how much the ambition of this nobleman had contributed to involve them in their prefent calamities; nor

[y] Thuanus. Sammonte, c. 10.

were

were they ignorant how unfuccefsful his attempts in Italy had been againft the fagacity and fkill of Alva; yet fo fplendid were his accomplifhments, and to fo great a height in the general efteem had his fpirited defence of Metz againft the emperor exalted him, that his arrival diffufed univerfal joy, and roufed the nation from that defpondency into which it had been caft by the late difafter at St. Quintin. He quickly fhewed that his countrymen were not miftaken in the opinion which they entertained of his abilities. The ordinary feafon for action was over, and the enemy had gone into winter-quarters, when he took the field, at the head of an army which he had collected with the utmoft fecrecy and difpatch. The eyes of all Europe were directed towards him, and Philip attended to his motions with much anxiety; never doubting that he intended to fall either upon St. Quintin, or fome of the frontier towns of the Netherlands. It foon appeared that he meditated an attack, by which the intereft of Philip's allies would be more affected than his own, but in the fuccefs of which France was more deeply interefted than even in the recovery of St. Quintin. For more than two hundred years the town of Calais had remained in the hands of the Englifh; and as it ferved for a key by which they could at all times open an entrance for their armies into France, it had been ever deemed one of their moft valuable poffeffions. The French monarchs were fully fenfible of the difhonour, as well as of the danger, which attended the fuffering a rival nation to poffefs a place of fo much importance in their dominions. But in thofe days, when the art of attacking towns was little known, Calais was regarded as impregnable. Nor had any of the French kings, even in the height of profperity, ever thought of laying fiege to it. They were ignorant of the means of taking it by ftorm, and they could not reduce it by blockade; while the Englifh could

1558. January. Siege of Calais.

eafily

BOOK II. 1558.

eaſily furniſh it by ſea with freſh troops, ſtores, and proviſions. But a plan of attack, which had never occurred to any perſon, was diſcovered by the fruitful genius of the admiral de Coligni, and by him had been ſuggeſted to the duke of Guiſe.

In order to carry this plan into execution, and thereby to redeem the nation from what had ever been conſidered as reproachful and ignominious, Guiſe put his troops in motion long before the uſual ſeaſon for action had arrived. He judged wiſely in making choice of the rigour of winter for beginning his enterpriſe; for beſides that the enemy had no army in the field at this time to diſturb his operations, he knew that the Queen of England and her miniſters had, from a principle of ill-judged œconomy, been accuſtomed to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon in the end of autumn, and to truſt, for the ſecurity of the place, to the marſhy ground on the land ſide, by which, they believed, that, in winter, all acceſs to it would be found impracticable.

But the briſkneſs of the duke of Guiſe's approaches ſoon convinced the governor, lord Wentworth, how little reaſon there was for this imprudent confidence. Wentworth repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry, the neceſſity of ſending him an immediate reinforcement. He acquainted them, that he had not above one-fourth of the number requiſite to defend the works; and that, with the preſent garriſon, it was impoſſible to prevent the place from falling quickly into the hands of the enemy. Had Mary's miniſters been ever ſo deſirous of complying with his requeſt, it would not have availed him. Guiſe was ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended on his conducting it with expedition. He puſhed forward all the operations of the ſiege with extraordinary vigour, and although it is acknowledged that the governor and garriſon acquitted themſelves with honour, yet he reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating on the eighth day

after

BOOK II. 1558. January 8th.

after his arrival [a]. He then laid ſiege to Guiſnes and Ham, which he ſubdued with great facility; and thus, in leſs than four weeks he expelled the Engliſh from all thoſe poſſeſſions on the continent which they had enjoyed ſince the time of Edward the Third, and in the acquiſition of which that victorious prince had, after the battle of Crecy, employed a numerous army for near a twelvemonth.

The reduction of Thionville.

THE remaining part of winter was ſpent in preparing for the next campaign: and, on the part of the French, preparations were carried on with the utmoſt diligence, not only in France but in Germany, where forces were levied to the amount of four thouſand horſe and fourteen thouſand foot. Theſe troops the duke of Guiſe received in Lorraine; and then he marched with his whole forces united, and inveſted Thionville, a city of great importance in the province of Luxemburg. The garriſon, which conſiſted of eighteen hundred men, made a vigorous defence; but as the vigilance of Guiſe rendered all attempts to introduce ſupplies impracticable, they were ſoon obliged to capitulate.

The battle of Gravelines.

WHILE the duke of Guiſe was thus employed in Luxemburg, the mareſchal de Thermes, an old experienced commander, who had been appointed governor of Calais, having collected an army of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, invaded Flanders, took and deſtroyed Dunkirk, together with ſome other places of ſmaller note, and penetrated as far as Newport, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword. Philip ſent count Egmont, with an army ſuperior in number, to oppoſe him. On the count's approach, de Thermes retired haſtily towards Gravelines, intending to continue his march to Calais, along the ſhore, without riſking a battle. But the impetuoſity and ardor of count Egmont, who

[a] Thuanus, l. 20. Van Meteren, p. 18. Carte's Hiſt. of England.

advanced

BOOK II. 1558.

advanced towards him with great rapidity, put it out of his power to execute this design. His men too were loaded with the spoil of the ravaged country, which, whilst it retarded their march, contributed not a little to accelerate the progress of the enemy. He had time however to repass the river Aa; but finding it impossible any longer to avoid an engagement, he drew up his army advantageously on a plain, where the enemy could not attack him but in front, nor avail themselves of the superiority of their number. He placed his carriages with the baggage and plunder on the south, and had the sea upon the north, and the mouth of the Aa behind him. In this posture he waited for the enemy; and being fully prepared for their reception, he made considerable havoc among them with his artillery as they advanced. This served only to quicken the approach of the Flemings, and to bring on the sooner a close fight, in which almost every part of both armies was engaged, troop with troop, and man with man. The French were rendered desperate by their situation in an enemy's country, where they could not escape without conquering; and the Flemings were animated, partly by revenge for the outrages that had been committed by the enemy, and partly by the desire of recovering the spoil which they had carried off. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and the issue remained for some time doubtful. It would probably have been sooner decided, if the Germans in count Egmont's army had shewn an equal regard with the Flemings to the exhortations and example of their general, who not only acted the part of a prudent commander, but often mingled with the foremost combatants, and gave conspicuous proofs of the most heroic valour. The French however still maintained their ground, and seemed resolved either on death or victory; when, fortunately for count Egmont, some English ships of war, which happened to be cruising upon the coast, per-

BOOK II. 1558.

ceiving the ſmoke, and conjecturing the occaſion of it, entered the river, and began to diſcharge their guns upon the French army. Although they did not approach near enough to do much execution, yet ſo unexpected an event, in the time of battle, could not fail to produce an alarm even in the moſt reſolute, and it threw the cavalry into confuſion. Count Egmont improved, with great dexterity, the advantage which was thus preſented to him; and puſhing forward with all his force, he broke their ranks and diſperſed them. The infantry intimidated, turned their backs and fled. Near two thouſand veteran troops were ſlain on the field of battle. Many were drowned in the river; and ſome were killed by the peaſants, in revenge for the devaſtation of their country. A ſmall number only made their eſcape. The mareſchal De Thermes, who was grievouſly wounded, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, beſides three thouſand common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. All the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victors; whoſe loſs did not exceed four hundred men.

PHILIP was now at liberty to employ all his forces united, againſt the duke of Guiſe. Having almoſt exhauſted his finances by the extraordinary effort which he made in the firſt campaign, and having found it impoſſible to draw any conſiderable ſupplies from England, it was late in the ſeaſon before he could aſſemble an army of ſufficient ſtrength. But after the Mareſchal de Thermes was defeated, and count Egmont's victorious troops were combined with thoſe under the duke of Savoy, the armies of the two monarchs were nearly a match for one another, and conſiſted, each of them, of more than forty thouſand men.

Anxiety of Philip and Henry.

THEY came in ſight of each other, upon the borders of Picardy, * where the duke of Savoy pitched his camp near Dour-

* Thuanus, lib. xx. Van Meteren, p. 16. Haræus, tom. ii. p. 698.

BOOK II. 1558.

lens, and the duke of Guise, in the neighbourhood of Pierrepont. Both kings discovered that anxiety which it was natural for them to feel in their present critical situation, and though they placed entire confidence in their generals, they could not be at ease while they remained at a distance from the scene of action, and therefore they repaired, each of them, to his respective camp. Many skirmishes happened with various success. But it soon appeared that neither of the two monarchs was inclined to risk a general engagement. The principal strength of both armies consisted in their German forces, and it was apprehended that, if either of the two armies were defeated, the victors as well as the vanquished would be exposed to the injuries and insults of the foreign troops [b].

They wish for peace.

BESIDES this consideration, by which both parties were alike affected, there were other motives peculiar to each. Henry had, from his late misfortunes, learned a degree of caution, which nature had not bestowed on him. He trembled at the thoughts of another battle, in which he must encounter the same generals by whom his troops had been already twice conquered; and considered that, after his defeat at St. Quintin, it had been owing to the remissness or misconduct of the enemy, more than to his own strength, that his capital had not been taken, and his kingdom over-run. Philip, on the other hand, was, in all military affairs, cautious to excess; and chose rather to accomplish his designs by political negociation, in which he judged for himself, than by the operations of war, in which he depended on the abilities of others. Far from being elated with the success which had hitherto accompanied his arms, he was now as desirous of peace, as he had been before averse from entering into the war. This is not to be ascribed either to his moderation, or his freedom from the

[b] Meteren. L. Guiccardini, lib. iii.

BOOK II. 1558.

the ambition of extending his power and territories. No prince ever gave more convincing proofs of his being actuated by that ambition; but having, as was just now hinted, found, that his most vigorous exertions had been necessary to assemble the forces which he had brought into the field; he dreaded, that, in case his present army were defeated, the difficulty of raising another would be insurmountable [c]. His arms, indeed, had hitherto been crowned with victory; but none of his generals had entered the lists on equal terms with the duke of Guise; and he was justly apprehensive with regard to the issue of a battle in which he must contend with a general so highly celebrated for his military genius, and whose enterprises had been so often accompanied with success.

These considerations derived additional force from Philip's extreme impatience to return to Spain; for which, in preference to his other dominions, he discovered, through his whole reign, a warm and partial affection. And his desire of going thither was increased by accounts which he received at this time, that the opinions of the Protestants had made their way into that kingdom. He dreaded the propagation of these opinions, and resolved, as soon as possible, to embrace this opportunity in his native country, of testifying his zeal for the catholic faith, by shewing, that he would treat those who opposed it, without mercy, in whatever part of his dominions they should be found.

Negociations for peace.

Such were the motives which made the contending monarchs so desirous to put a period to the war. A negociation had been begun for this purpose in the month of August, by the constable Montmorenci, and William the first prince of Orange. Montmorenci, who beheld with much anxiety the exaltation

[c] Carte says, he received no less than three millions of gold during this war, from Peru, p. 343.

BOOK II. 1558.

of the family of Guise, had borne his captivity with great impatience; and in order to obtain his liberty, had exerted himself strenuously in removing every obstacle to the establishment of peace. He was permitted to go to Paris on his parole, to treat in person with the king. A marriage was concluded about that time between his son and a grand-daughter of the dutchess of Valentinois. And by this event, joined to the king's habitual attachment to him, he recovered all his wonted influence; and easily persuaded Henry to consent to such terms of accommodation as it was not likely that Philip would reject.

Plenipotentiaries were soon afterwards named by both princes, and a congress, for discussing their respective claims, appointed to be held at the Abbey of Cercamps, not far from the place where the armies were encamped. The duke of Alva, the prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Granvelle bishop of Arras, and Viglius, president of the council of state at Brussels, were nominated by Philip; and by Henry, the Constable himself was named, the cardinal of Lorrain, the mareschal of St. André, Morvilliers bishop of Orange, and Aubespine the secretary of state. The dutchess of Lorrain, whom it highly imported, on account of the vicinity of her dominions, that the two kings should put an end to the war, acted with great assiduity the part of mediator between them.

The conferences, which were opened in October, were soon afterwards interrupted by the death of Mary queen of England, who ended her short inglorious reign on the seventeenth of November following. But Elizabeth renewed the powers of the English commissioners, and the congress was resumed in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and fifty nine, at Chateau Cambresis[d].

[d] Forbes's Full View, p. 1.

In removing so many grounds of difference as subsisted between Philip and Henry, the plenipotentiaries encountered many difficulties; but the zeal and activity of the Constable, added to the unlimited influence which he had acquired over his master, surmounted every obstacle, and soon brought the treaty, so far as Philip, Henry, and the duke of Savoy were concerned, to the desired conclusion. Nothing retarded the signing of it, but the determined obstinacy of the French commissioners in refusing to restore Calais to the queen of England; who, on the other hand, declared, that she would not agree to the peace unless that conquest were restored. Philip thought himself bound in honour to support the claim of Elizabeth; since it was entirely on his account that the English nation had engaged in the war, and incurred the loss of the place in question. In a political view, likewise, he was desirous that Calais should be restored. He considered, that, in some future period, he might derive advantage, as his father had sometimes done, from that facility which the possession of Calais gave the English of invading France.

But the zeal which Philip discovered on this occasion in behalf of Elizabeth, arose principally from a very different motive. By Mary's death, his connexion with England had lately been dissolved, and he had formed the scheme of renewing it, by marrying Elizabeth. The duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, was ordered to propose the marriage, and at the same time to acquaint the queen that his master would procure a dispensation for it from the pope.

Elizabeth had many motives to deter her from listening to this proposal. Philip's imperious temper would alone have been a sufficient reason for rejecting it. Besides this, she knew well what apprehensions her sister's marriage had occasioned among the English

BOOK II. 1559.

English, with regard to their liberty and independence; and that her own popularity was greatly owing to the universal joy which their deliverance from these apprehensions had excited. She considered that her marriage with Philip would be liable to the same objection as that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her accepting of the pope's dispensation would be in effect to acknowledge that her mother's marriage was unlawful, and she herself illegitimate. By doing this she might secure to herself the protection of the Spanish monarchy, and thereby hold a precarious and dependent authority during Philip's life; but she would forfeit for ever the favour of her protestant subjects, who alone were sincerely attached to her person and government; while she would throw herself on the mercy of the catholics; who considered her as an usurper, and would, on the first favourable opportunity of asserting the title of the queen of Scotland, think it their duty to deprive her of her crown.

While, for these reasons, Elizabeth was unalterably determined not to accept of Philip for a husband, she thought it prudent for some time to conceal her intention; and she returned such an ambiguous, but obliging answer to his ambassador, that Philip flattered himself with the hopes of success, and actually took some steps to procure a dispensation. As long as there remained any foundation for these hopes, he appeared extremely zealous for the restitution of Calais. But when Elizabeth, finding herself firmly established on the throne, ventured to introduce certain alterations in religion, which discovered her resolution to abolish popery in her dominions, Philip considered this part of her conduct as a sufficient indication of her intentions with regard to him. That zeal with which he had at first espoused her interest, began to abate; and the English plenipotentiaries

BOOK II. 1559.

tentiaries dreaded that, without respect to the claim of their mistress, he would not delay much longer to put the finishing hand to his treaty with the king of France[e].

ELIZABETH at length perceived that it was in vain to hope for recovering Calais by treaty; and, as the situation of her affairs at home rendered it highly inexpedient to employ force, she wisely resolved to give it up on the following conditions: that Henry should restore it before the end of eight years, or pay 500,000 crowns; that foreign merchants, not subjects of France, should give security for the money; that hostages should be delivered, till that security were procured; and that, whether the money were paid or not, Elizabeth's claim should remain valid, unless, within the time specified, she should commit hostilities against the subjects of the French king.

Peace concluded.

TOWARDS his other allies, Philip's conduct was perfectly conformable to the dictates of the strictest honour. He procured the restitution of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; of Bouillon to the bishop of Liege; of the isle of Corsica to the Genoese; and of all the towns which the French had seized in Savoy, Piedmont, and Bresse, to the duke of Savoy. This peace was advantageous to himself as well as to the princes in alliance with him. He recovered Thionville, Marienburgh, Montmedi, and all the other places which had been taken by the French generals during the war, and acquired the sovereignty of the county of Charolois[f].

[e] If it is likewise true, that he made an offer to Elizabeth, of continuing the war till she should recover what she had lost, upon condition that she too would engage to carry it on for a certain term of years; it would then seem, that he gave little reason for accusing him as some authors have done, of having acted ungenerously towards his English allies. But as this circumstance is omitted by the principal historians, and contradicts what is said of his coldness with regard to the interest of Elizabeth, I have not ventured to advance it as an undoubted fact. Burnet, part ii. p. 383.

[f] Meteren, p. 24. Guicciardini, lib. iii.

BOOK II. 1559.

In return for the many conceſſions made by Henry, that monarch received no other compenſation but St. Quintin, and the two unimportant towns of Ham and Catelet. While his people, therefore, rejoiced at the concluſion of the war, which, at certain times, had excited in their minds the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, they complained bitterly of the inequality of the terms of peace, and were highly exaſperated againſt the conſtable; who, in order to accompliſh his private views, had abuſed the too eaſy temper of his maſter, and made a ſacrifice of the intereſts and the honour of France. Montmorenci durſt not have counſelled Henry to conſent to ſuch diſadvantageous terms, had he not deviſed the expedient of giving Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, in marriage to Philip, and Margaret, his ſiſter, to the duke of Savoy. Theſe marriages ſerved, in ſome meaſure, as an excuſe for the ample conceſſions made to theſe two princes; ſince honourable ſettlements were thereby obtained for the daughter and ſiſter of the king.

Amidst that attention which Philip and Henry beſtowed in this treaty, on their political and civil intereſts, religion was not forgotten. They bound themſelves mutually to maintain the catholic faith in their dominions; and to procure[s] the convocation of a general council, for ſuppreſſing hereſy, and reſtoring tranquillity to the church.

Death of Henry.

It is not to be doubted that Henry would have fulfilled this article of the treaty with the ſame exactneſs which he obſerved in executing the other articles; but a ſudden period was put to his life, in a few months after the peace was ſigned, by an accident which happened in the time of the rejoicings celebrated on account of his ſiſter's marriage. Having entered the liſts at a tournament with the count of Montgomery, captain of his

[s] Padre Paolo Hiſt. lib. v.

guards,

guards, the count's lance broke on Henry's corslet, and a splinter of it having pierced his right eye, inflicted a wound, of which he died in a few days, at the age of forty.

BOOK II. 1559.

THIS melancholy event made no alteration with respect to the treaty of peace. The duke of Alva had some time before espoused Elizabeth, in his master's name; and Margaret's marriage with Emanuel was celebrated privately in a chapel of the palace.

State of France.

THE courtiers and the people of France were affected variously by Henry's death. The Constable lost thereby all the fruits of his late intrigues, and was soon afterwards obliged to retire from court, and to resign that power which he had shewn himself so solicitous to attain, into the hands of his enemies.

Francis II.

THE young king, Francis the Second, a prince equally weak in body and in mind, was entirely governed by his wife, the celebrated Mary queen of Scots; who was blindly devoted to her uncles, the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guise. These two men engrossed almost the whole administration of the kingdom; admitting only the queen mother to a share of it, from their knowledge of her ambitious, intriguing spirit, and the dread which they entertained of her influence, as a mother, over the feeble mind of Francis. They shewed no moderation in the exercise of the power which they had usurped; but seized on every advantage for themselves, and laid hold of every opportunity to humble and mortify their adversaries. The princes of the blood, with Lewis prince of Condé at their head, bore with extreme impatience the insignificance to which they were reduced; and resolved to embrace the first occasion that should offer, to vindicate their right to that share in the management of affairs, to which they thought themselves intitled by their birth, and the ancient practice of the realm [1].

[1] Davila, Castelnau ab initio, & Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau.

BOOK II. 1559.

While the great men in France were thus animated againſt each other by conſiderations of a political nature, the people were violently agitated, and their minds inflamed by religious controverſies. Under the reign of Henry, the Calviniſts had ſuffered the moſt cruel perſecution; yet they had multiplied exceedingly during that period in every quarter of the kingdom. The duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine kept alive the flames of perſecution againſt them, and on all occaſions appeared intent on their deſtruction. This alone would have determined the prince of Condé and his adherents to eſpouſe the proteſtant cauſe; for even although we ſhould not believe that the chiefs in either party were ſincere in their religious profeſſion, yet it cannot be ſuppoſed they would have failed to embrace ſo ſpecious a pretext as the differences in religion afforded them to palliate their conduct. The prince of Condé would inſtantly have had recourſe to arms, if the admiral, more prudent and ſagacious, had not prevailed on him to ſuſpend his reſolution till a more favourable juncture; but it was impoſſible that paſſions ſo violent as thoſe by which both parties were impelled, could be kept long under reſtraint; and to every perſon capable of reflecting on what he ſaw paſſing before him, it was apparent that the nation was upon the eve of a civil war.

France has in no period produced a more remarkable aſſemblage of great men than in the preſent and the ſucceeding reigns; and had there been a prince upon the throne poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to controul their inordinate ambition, the French nation might have much ſooner reached that degree of greatneſs and proſperity, which it attained towards the concluſion of the following century: but this mighty kingdom, poſſeſſed of every advantage which nature beſtows, became a ſcene of devaſtation and miſery for almoſt forty years, through the miſapplication of thoſe

very talents, which, if they had been properly employed, would have rendered it prosperous and happy. BOOK II. 1559.

NOTHING could be more desirable to Philip than this confusion, and the debility consequent upon it, in that nation, from which alone he had reason to expect opposition to his designs. It left him at liberty to pursue whatever measures he should think proper for the confirmation and increase of his power in Spain, Italy and the Netherlands; and it gave no small reason to the other European powers to apprehend, that France itself would fall under the Spanish yoke.

State of Italy.

IN Italy, the state of affairs was no less favourable to Philip's views, than in France. He was now the sole and undisputed sovereign of the dutchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His inveterate enemy, Paul the Fourth, was lately dead; and Pius the Fourth, who was no less devoted to his interest than Paul had been adverse, was raised to the papal throne. The republic of Genoa, the dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Tuscany, and Parma, were his allies, whom he had bound to his interest by the strongest ties; the three first, by procuring for them the restitution of their dominions from the French King; the fourth, by granting him the investiture of Siena; and the last, by ceding to him the city of Placentia and its territory.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace, nothing remained to render Philip uneasy, either in his own dominions or in the neighbouring kingdoms, but the progress which the reformers had made, and were still making, in almost every country in Europe. From Germany and Switzerland, where the Reformation took its rise, it had spread with the most astonishing rapidity. It had become the established religion, not only in several of the considerable provinces and free cities in Germany and the Cantons in Switzerland, but likewise in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Sweden,

BOOK II. 1559.

and Denmark; and in ſome of thoſe ſtates where the ancient religion ſtill maintained its ground, the proteſtants were grown ſo numerous as to be extremely formidable to their opponents.

From the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſts between Germany and the Netherlands, it was impoſſible but the new opinions muſt have been early propagated from the former to the latter; and accordingly, in the month of May 1521, the emperor Charles had publiſhed an edict, in which all the penalties of high treaſon were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of holding any of Luther's tenets; or of republiſhing, or vending any books written by him or his followers. In the execution of this edict, which Charles from time to time renewed, all the fury of perſecution was exerciſed; and it is affirmed by ſeveral cotemporary hiſtorians, that during the reign of Charles fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of the Low Countries were put to death on account of their religious principles. Theſe principles however, far from being extirpated, were more and more diffuſed in the midſt of thoſe ſeverities which were employed to ſuppreſs them.

Philip was not ignorant of the progreſs which they had made; and it gave him the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe, being exceedingly deſirous of ſetting out for Spain, he would be obliged to commit the buſineſs of extirpating hereſy from the Netherlands to others, whom he could not ſuppoſe poſſeſſed of the ſame fervent zeal againſt it, of which he himſelf was conſcious. In order to prevent as much as poſſible the inconveniences which might ariſe from his abſence, he had gone from his camp at Dourlens to Bruſſels, and had been employed during the winter ſeaſon in ſettling the goverment of the provinces.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK III.

THE provinces, which, on account of their ſituation, are called the Netherlands, were long governed, by their reſpective princes, under the titles of Dukes, Marquiſſes, or Counts. These princes were for many years engaged in perpetual wars with the neighbouring powers, or with one another; and, as they had frequent occaſions, during theſe wars, to have recourſe to the people for ſupplies, the cities, the nobles, and eccleſiaſtics, acquired, in return, ſeveral rights and privileges, by which the provinces partook more of the nature of republics, than of regal governments. The ſupreme authority was lodged in the aſſembly of the States, which had the power of meeting as often as the members thought expedient. And without the conſent of that aſſembly, no war could be undertaken, no taxes could be impoſed, no new laws enacted, no change made in the current coin, and no foreigners admitted into any branch of the adminiſtration.

BOOK III. 1559. Ancient ſtate of the Netherlands.

BOOK III. 1559.

ſtration. The ſovereignty deſcended according to the ordinary laws of hereditary ſucceſſion; but no prince was allowed to enter upon the exerciſe of it, till he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve and maintain the fundamental laws *.

In this ſituation theſe provinces remained for ſeveral ages; till by the failure of the male line in ſome of the reigning families, by intermarriages, and by conqueſts, they fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy. After this event they ſtill continued to enjoy their ancient privileges, and to be governed according to their old laws; with this difference only, that whereas all criminal and civil cauſes had been formerly determined, in the laſt reſort, by the councils of the ſeveral provinces, it was eſtabliſhed, that parties might appeal from theſe to the tribunal of Mechlin, which was inſtituted in order to unite the provinces more cloſely, and to give them more the appearance of one ſtate.

Proſperity of the Provinces.

Under the adminiſtration of the Burgundian princes, and even long before their acceſſion to the ſovereignty, trade and manufactures flouriſhed in the Netherlands more than in any other European ſtate. No city in thoſe days, except Venice, poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive commerce as Antwerp. It was the ſtaple, or great mart of all the northern nations. Bruges was little inferior. Arras was famous for tapeſtries, which ſtill retain the name of that place. In the city of Ghent there were many thouſand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture, long before the art was known to the Engliſh, from whom the wool was purchaſed by the induſtrious Flemings.

Cauſes of it.

For this proſperity the inhabitants of the Netherlands were, in a great meaſure, indebted to the nature and ſituation of their country; which, as it lies in the centre of Europe, commanding

* Grotius de Antiq. Repub. Batav. cap. 5.

the

BOOK III. 1559.

the entrance and navigation of ſeveral of the great rivers of Germany, and is almoſt every where interſected by theſe rivers, or, by canals and branches of the ſea, is admirably fitted both for foreign and domeſtic or inland trade. This ſingular advantage, however, could not have enabled the Flemings to leave the other European nations ſo far behind them, if the form of their civil government had not been peculiarly favourable to their exertions. The greateſt advantages which nature affords for improvement in the arts of life, may be rendered uſeleſs to the people who poſſeſs them, by an injudicious, or tyrannical and oppreſſive exerciſe of the civil power. And univerſal experience proves how vain it is to expect that men will apply themſelves with vigour to commercial purſuits, where their perſons are inſecure, or where the fruits of their induſtry may be ſeized by the rapacious hand of a deſpotic prince. But happily for the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the ſovereigns of the ſeveral provinces (unable, perhaps, from the ſmall extent of their dominions, to execute any plan of tyranny againſt the people) were, at a very early period, induced to give their conſent and ſanction to the above-mentioned ſyſtem of fundamental laws; by which, although their prerogative was abridged, yet their power and reſources were greatly augmented, through that proſperity which their moderate government had enabled their ſubjects to attain.

THE ſovereignty of theſe flouriſhing provinces paſſed from the family of Burgundy into that of Auſtria, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, and ſole heireſs of his dominions, with Maximilian, ſon of Frederic the Third, emperor of Germany. This marriage was ſet on foot and concluded by the Flemings themſelves, who, agreeably to their free maxims of government, aſſumed the direction of the conduct of their princeſs in this matter, which ſo nearly concerned their proſperity and ſafety.

LEWIS

BOOK III. 1559.

Lewis the Eleventh of France had demanded her for his son the dauphin; whilst he most impolitically gave offence to the States, by seizing upon Burgundy and Picardy as fiefs of the kingdom of France. This imprudent step, and the death of the bishop of Liege, uncle of Mary, and a partisan of Lewis, determined the Flemings in their choice. They judged wisely, that their liberty would be safer in the hands of Maximilian, whose hereditary dominions were small, and lay at a distance from them, than in those of a neighbouring prince so powerful as Lewis, who, in all his conduct, had discovered so much injustice and rapacity.

The Flemings shewed the same laudable jealousy of their privileges after Maximilian's marriage with their princess, which had influenced them in their choice of him for her husband. About four years after her marriage, Mary died of a bruise which she received by a fall from horseback, when she was big with child. Maximilian, under the name of tutor to his son Philip, assumed the reins of government. The Flemings considered his conduct as an encroachment on their rights, and refused to acknowledge his authority, till the States had ordained that he should be admitted as governor, only for a limited time, and upon conditions which they required he should take an oath to fulfil.

He did not observe these conditions so exactly as they expected. They complained of his conferring offices upon Burgundians and Germans. They were grievously offended with him for introducing foreign troops into the provinces, and apprehended that he had formed a design against their liberty. After he was elected king of the Romans, their suspicions rose to so great a height, that, upon his entering the city of Bruges with a numerous train of attendants, the inhabitants ran to arms, surrounded him in the market-place, seized his person, and confined him in the castle,

where they kept him priſoner for ſeveral months. The pope and emperor interpoſed in his behalf, but could not obtain his liberty till he had given ſecurity with regard to the ſeveral particulars on account of which they had taken offence.

Charles V.

Of the ſame jealous attention to their liberty the Flemings gave proofs during the adminiſtration of Maximilian's ſucceſſors. Under that of his grandſon Charles V. they had real ground of uneaſineſs. Charles might have eaſily ſubdued them, if he had been inclined to uſe his power ſo ungenerouſly: and his arbitrary temper had ſufficiently appeared in his government of Spain and Germany; in both which countries he had trampled on all thoſe rights of the people, which had been long eſteemed the moſt inviolable. On ſeveral occaſions he had introduced foreign troops into the Low Countries; and it has been aſſerted [b], that he once deliberated whether he ſhould employ them in eſtabliſhing in the provinces the ſame ſort of arbitrary government which ſubſiſted in his Spaniſh and Italian dominions.

His popularity.

But Charles was born in the Netherlands, and had paſſed there the pleaſanteſt of his younger days. He loved the people, and was fond of their manners; which reſembled his own, and were not ſo reſerved and ſtately as thoſe of the Spaniards. From taſte and early attachment he kept them always about his perſon, and had beſtowed on them the moſt important offices in his dominions. To his preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, who, through his intereſt, was afterwards advanced to the papacy, he committed the government of Spain: and Charles de Lanoy, whom he appointed viceroy of Naples, was intruſted with the management of his affairs in Italy for ſeveral years, with unlimited authority. In all the wars which he carried on in Germany, and on the frontiers of France, he placed a particular con-

[b] Grotius, p. 6.

BOOK III. 1559.

fidence in his Flemish troops; used the people, when he resided among them, with the most courteous familiarity, and banished from his intercourse with them, that form and ceremony which renders it so difficult for princes either to know that they are beloved, or to shew that they deserve it [c].

THE Flemings entertained a grateful sense of the kindness with which he treated them. If we except the insurrection of the people of Ghent, there happened almost no disturbance in the Netherlands during his reign. The States assisted him liberally in defraying the expence of those wars in which he was almost continually engaged, and discovered, at all times, a warm attachment to his person.

CHARLES would gladly have transmitted to his son the affection which he bore towards his Flemish subjects; and for this purpose he had, as above related, brought him to Flanders in his youth, in order to reconcile him to the manners and customs of the people. And afterwards, when he himself had resolved to retire from the world, and to leave the government of his dominions in the hands of Philip, he exhorted him, with much earnestness, to cultivate the affections of the Flemings, and to govern them according to those laws to which they had been so long accustomed, and were so strongly attached.

Of Philip. His unpopular behaviour.

BUT Philip could not enter into his father's views. He had never made any considerable stay in the Netherlands; and could not be fond of a people whose manners were so different from his own. In Spain, where he received his education, he had been taught the most superstitious reverence for the Holy See, and had imbibed the most extravagant ideas of the extent of regal authority. Charles was not, in reality, less fond of power; but in him ambition was, in some measure, tempered and corrected

[c] Bentivoglio, p. 4.

by

BOOK III. 1559.

by his acquaintance with the world; whereas, in Philip, it was perverted and inflamed by the ſentiments of an illiberal, cruel, gloomy ſuperſtition.

The Flemings jealous of him.

The Flemings had long perceived and lamented the difference between the character of their late, and that of their preſent ſovereign. Philip had taken the uſual oath, by which he bound himſelf to maintain their privileges; and had made them the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of regard and affection. But they judged of his diſpoſition towards them from his conduct, rather than from his oath or his profeſſions. They were not admitted, whilſt he lived amongſt them, to any ſhare of his truſt and confidence; and, in violation of their fundamental laws, he committed the adminiſtration of the moſt important branches of government to the biſhop of Arras, a Burgundian; or to his Spaniſh miniſters, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Prince of Eboli, and the dukes of Feria and Alva; whom the Flemings conſidered as enemies to their nation, and ſtrenuous abettors of that deſpotic power, to which, from the beginning of Philip's reign, they had ſuſpected that he aſpired.

The edicts againſt the Proteſtants.

It was not long before he gave them convincing proof how well-grounded their fears were with regard to his intentions, by the meaſures which he employed for extinguiſhing the new opinions in religion. Theſe opinions had been of late diffuſed through every corner of the Netherlands; having been imported thither, partly by foreign merchants who came to reſide there; and partly by the Swiſs and German troops, whom both Charles and Philip had employed in their wars againſt France; but chiefly by the Engliſh, French, and German proteſtants, who had fled from the perſecutions which were carried on againſt them in their native countries.

Charles had, as mentioned in the preceding book, ſhewn the ſame inclination to extirpate the reformed religion in the Ne-

 therlands,

BOOK III. 1559.

therlands, which he had discovered in Germany; and had, for this purpose, published several edicts against the protestants; many of whom had suffered the most cruel death [a].

GREAT numbers had begun to leave the provinces, and to transport their families and effects to the neighbouring states. Charles was moved with the representation which he received of this event, from the regent his sister, the queen dowager of Hungary. He felt for the calamities of the people, and he dreaded the consequences of depopulating a country where he had often received the most effectual assistance and support.

BUT these considerations had no degree of influence on Philip. He republished the edicts, and ordered the governors and magistrates to carry them into rigorous execution.

IN these edicts it was enacted, that all persons who held any erroneous opinion should be deprived of their offices, and degraded from their rank. It was ordained, that whoever should be convicted of having taught heretical doctrines, or of having been present at the religious meetings of heretics, should, if they were men, be put to death by the sword, and if women, be buried alive. Such were the punishments denounced even against those who repented of their errors and forsook them; while all who persisted in them were condemned to the flames. And even those who afforded shelter to heretics in their houses, or who omitted to give information against them, were subjected to the same penalties as heretics themselves.

The inquisition.

PHILIP was not satisfied with publishing and executing these cruel edicts. He likewise established a particular tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, which, although it was not called by the name

[a] It is almost incredible that the number of those who suffered could amount to 50,000, yet this is affirmed by several historians. Meteren calls the number 50,000. Grotius, p. 12. calls it 100,000. F. Paul, lib. v. calls it 50,000.

name Inquiſition, had all the eſſentials of that iniquitous inſtitution. Perſons were committed to priſon upon bare ſuſpicion; and put to the torture on the ſlighteſt evidence. The accuſed were not confronted with their accuſers, or made acquainted with the crimes for which they ſuffered. The civil judges were not allowed to take any further concern in proſecutions for hereſy, than to execute the ſentences which the inquiſitors had pronounced. The poſſeſſions of the ſufferers were confiſcated; and informers were encouraged, by an aſſurance of impunity in caſe they themſelves were guilty, and by the promiſe of rewards [e].

It is not ſurpriſing, that the eſtabliſhment of this arbitrary tribunal ſhould have occaſioned diſquietude in the Netherlands. It had created diſturbance even in Spain and Italy, where the people could not boaſt ſo much as the Flemings of their civil rights; and had been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by many who were ſincerely attached to the catholic religion. In the Flemings it excited the moſt frightful apprehenſions. They conſidered it as utterly ſubverſive of their liberty. They dreaded the ruin of their commerce; which could not ſubſiſt unleſs the foreign merchants, many of whom were proteſtants, could reſide among them with ſafety. The new opinions had been propagated throughout all the provinces, and men knew not how far the inquiſitors might extend their power, or how great a number might be found liable to puniſhments that were denounced, not only againſt heretics themſelves, but againſt all thoſe who were ſuſpected to befriend them.

New erection of biſhoprics.

To theſe cauſes of diſcontent Philip added another, by increaſing the number of biſhoprics from five to ſeventeen, the number of the provinces. This meaſure, which would not at any other time have given much offence, was in the preſent juncture uni-

[e] Grotius Annales, lib. i.

BOOK III. 1559.

versally disagreeable. Gravelle bishop of Arras was the chief adviser of it: nor did he and the king's other counsellors scruple to acknowledge, that their intention in promoting it, was to have at all times a sufficient number of persons in the Netherlands, upon whose zeal the king could rely for a vigorous execution of the edicts.

The new bishops were therefore considered as so many new inquisitors. Their creation was regarded as an encroachment on the privileges of the provinces, and a violation, on the part of the king, of the oath which he had taken at his accession, to preserve the church in the condition in which he found it. The principal nobility were particularly averse from this innovation, because the number of the counsellors of state was thereby greatly augmented, and consequently the influence of the ancient members of the council was impaired, and the balance of power thrown into the hands of the clergy; who, they doubted not, would on all occasions shew themselves ready to support the arbitrary measures of the sovereign. But no sect of men exclaimed so loudly as the Monks and Abbots, whose opposition was inflamed by motives both of ambition and interest. For besides that they would be obliged to yield the precedency to the bishops, and have much less weight than hitherto in the assemblies of the States, it was out of their revenues that the new bishoprics were to be endowed. They were therefore highly incensed. They laboured to connect their private interest with that of the public; and represented the new erection as no less pernicious to the country in general, than it was to their order in particular [f].

Spanish troops in the Netherlands.

Besides the grievances enumerated, the Flemings complained bitterly, that in the midst of peace the provinces were filled with Spanish soldiers. They had ever esteemed it one of their most

[f] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

valuable

BOOK III. 1559.

valuable privileges, that, according to their fundamental laws, no foreign troops could be brought into the Netherlands. Charles indeed had often introduced them in the course of his wars with France, and with the protestants in Germany. But the Flemings had been dazzled with the glory which generally attended that monarch's arms, and had not entertained the same jealousy of his intentions as of those of Philip; who, they could not help thinking, had formed a design to reduce them under a despotic government; and had, with this view, deferred so long the dismission of his Spanish troops. Their discontent was greatly increased by the insolent and rapacious behaviour of these troops; which in Zealand was so intolerable, that the people actually refused to work at their dykes, saying, that they chose rather to be swallowed up by the ocean, than to remain a prey to the cruelty and avarice of the Spanish soldiers [g].

SUCH was the state of affairs, and such the temper of the people, when Philip, intending to set out for Spain, was deliberating concerning a proper person to whom he might commit the government of the Netherlands.

The dutchess of Parma appointed regent.

HE hesitated for some time between Christina the dutchess of Lorrain, his cousin, and Margaret dutchess of Parma, a natural daughter of the late emperor. The former had distinguished herself by her prudent conduct in the government of Lorrain after her husband's death, and had lately acquired considerable reputation by her negociations in the treaty of peace at Chateau-Cambresis. From the vicinity of Lorrain to the Low Countries, the Flemings were well acquainted with her character; and, as they had groaned under the burthen of the French war, and were now begun to taste, with gratitude, the fruits of that peace which

[g] These soldiers were not removed till the year following, when Philip had occasion for them elsewhere. Reidanus, p. 5. Meursii Auriacus, near the beginning.

BOOK III. 1559.

Christina's wisdom had contributed to procure for them, they were exceedingly desirous that the government of the provinces should be left in her hands. But Philip had good reason for the preference which he gave to the dutchess of Parma. The dukes of Lorrain were, from their situation, in some measure dependent upon the crown of France; whereas the dutchy of Parma was surrounded with Philip's Italian dominions; and the duke and dutchess were willing to send their son, the celebrated Alexander Farnese prince of Parma, to the court of Spain; on the pretence of being educated there, but, in truth, as a pledge of that implicit obedience which the dutchess engaged to yield to the king's injunctions in her government of the provinces [h].

As Philip did not intend to return soon to the Netherlands, he thought proper, before his departure, to summon a convention of the States; which was accordingly held in Ghent. He was present himself, accompanied by the new regent, at the first opening of that assembly; but as he could not speak the language of the country, he employed the bishop of Arras to address the deputies in his name.

The bishop of Arras's speech to the States.

The bishop began his speech with informing them of the king's resolution of going to Spain, and the reasons which rendered his journey thither necessary. He expatiated on the affection which Philip bore towards his Flemish subjects; to whom his family had been so much indebted for that ascendant and influence, which had given them possession of such extensive territories. His affairs in Spain, he hoped, would not detain him long; but, in case they should, he promised to send his son to reside in the Netherlands. In the mean time he earnestly exhorted the States to study to preserve the public peace; and to this end he thought that nothing could conduce so much, as the

[h] Bentivoglio.

extirpation

BOOK III. 1559.

extirpation of heresy, which, whilst it set men at variance with God, put arms into their hands against their civil sovereign. They ought therefore zealously to maintain the purity of their ancient faith, and, for this purpose, to execute with vigour the several edicts published for the suppression of heresy. In this, and every other measure, he hoped that they would concur cheerfully with the dutchess of Parma, whom he had appointed regent in his absence. He would leave the Netherlands, impressed with the deepest sense of that fidelity and affection which his subjects there had ever shewn him; and would, as soon as possible, remove the foreign troops, and deliver the people from every other burden which the exigency of his affairs had made it necessary to impose [k].

The answer of the States to this speech contained the warmest sentiments of affection and loyalty. But, before the convention was dissolved, Philip perceived that the deputies were far from being satisfied with every part of his administration. They had expected that the troops would have been immediately transported to Spain, and could not discover any reason for keeping them longer in the Low Countries but such as filled their minds with terror. Their suspicion that the Inquisition was about to be established in the Netherlands, excited the most disquieting apprehensions. There were some of the deputies who scrupled not openly to remonstrate, That the Low Countries had never been accustomed to an institution of so much rigour and severity: That the people trembled at the very name of the Inquisition, and would fly to the remotest corners of the earth rather than submit to it: That it was not by fire and the sword, but by the gentlest and softest remedies, that the evil complained of must be cured: That as each

[k] Bentivoglio, p. 9.

BOOK III. 1559.

individual had a habit or conſtitution of body peculiar to himſelf, ſo every nation had a peculiar temperament or character: That what might be ſuitable to Spain or Italy, would be extremely unfit for the Netherlands; and that, in general, the nations in the ſouthern parts of the world could live happily under a degree of reſtraint which would render the northern nations extremely miſerable [l].

Philip refuſes to gratify them.

THESE and ſuch other repreſentations were addreſſed to the king himſelf by ſome of the deputies, who endeavoured to perſuade him to annul, or at leaſt to moderate the edicts. But on this head Philip was inexorable. And when one of his miniſters repreſented, that, by perſiſting in the execution of theſe edicts, he might kindle the ſeeds of rebellion, and thereby loſe the ſovereignty of the provinces; he replied, "That he had much rather "be no king at all, than have heretics for his ſubjects [m]."

HIS religion, which was of all ſuperſtitions the moſt intolerant; his temper of mind, which was naturally haughty and ſevere; his pride, which would have been wounded by yielding what he had repeatedly declared he would never yield; his engagements with the pope, and an oath which he had taken to devote his reign to the defence of the popiſh faith and the extirpation of hereſy; above all, his thirſt for deſpotic power, with which he conſidered the liberties claimed in religious matters by the proteſtants as utterly incompatible; all theſe cauſes united, rendered him deaf to the remonſtrances which were made to him, and fixed him unalterably in his reſolution to execute the edicts with the utmoſt rigour. He ſhewed himſelf equally inflexible with regard to the new biſhoprics; nor would he conſent at this time to withdraw

[l] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

[m] Chegli voleva piu toſto reſtar ſenza regni, che poſſedergli con hereſia. Bentivoglio, p. 10.

BOOK III. 1559.

the Spanish soldiers. In order however to lessen the odium arising from his refusal, he offered the command of these troops to the prince of Orange and count Egmont, the two ablest and most popular noblemen in the Netherlands; the former of whom he had appointed governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; and the latter, of Artois and Flanders. Both of them declined accepting of the offer which was made to them, and had the courage to declare, that they considered the continuance of the troops in the Low Countries, after peace had been established with France, as a violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution.

Count Egmont.

COUNT EGMONT, descended from the dukes of Guelderland, and one of the most accomplished noblemen in the Netherlands, having lately gained immortal honour by the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines, had just ground to expect the highest rewards in the power of Philip to bestow.

William I. prince of Orange.

THE prince of Orange, so well known in history by the name of William the First, was the representative of the ancient and illustrious family of Nassau in Germany. From his ancestors, one of whom had been emperor of Germany, he inherited several rich possessions in the Netherlands; and he had succeeded to the principality of Orange by the will of Renè de Nassau and Chalons, his cousin-german, in the year 1544. From that time the late emperor had kept him perpetually about his person, and had early discovered in him all those extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the most illustrious personages of this or of any other age. Both he and count Egmont had aspired to the regency; and their declining to accept of the command of the Spanish troops was, by some, ascribed to the chagrin occasioned by their disappointment [n]. The prince of Orange, after dropping

[n] Ferreras, tom. ix. Grotius, p. 4—9.

BOOK III. 1559.

his own pretenſions, had expreſſed his deſire to have the regency beſtowed on the dutcheſs of Lorrain; and this diſcovery of William's inclination is ſaid to have been a principal motive with Philip, and his Spaniſh counſellors, for conferring it on the dutcheſs of Parma. Nor were they ſatisfied with thwarting him in this. He had begun and made ſome progreſs in a treaty of marriage with one of the princeſſes of Lorrain. In this meaſure likewiſe they oppoſed him, from an apprehenſion, it was pretended, that ſo cloſe a connexion with a family of ſo great influence, and whoſe territories lay ſo near the Netherlands, would give him an acceſſion of power that might be dangerous in the hands of a perſon whoſe loyalty there was reaſon to ſuſpect.

Cauſes of Philip's alienation from him.

It does not however appear, that, before the aſſembly of the States, Philip had any juſt ground for his ſuſpicions of William's conduct; and there is only one circumſtance recorded to which they can be aſcribed. The prince having been ſent to France as an hoſtage for the execution of ſome articles of the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, had, during his reſidence there, diſcovered a ſcheme formed by the French and Spaniſh monarchs for the extirpation of the proteſtants. This ſcheme he had communicated to ſuch of his friends in the Netherlands as had embraced the reformed religion, and from that time the king ceaſed to treat him with his wonted confidence [a].

But we find a ſtill more ſatisfactory account of Philip's alienation from the prince, in the jealouſy of Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters. From his early youth William had been conſidered as a principal favourite of the late emperor, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed him with peculiar marks of his eſteem. Charles uſed to communicate to him his moſt ſecret counſels, and had

[a] Bentivoglio, p. 6. Thuanus, tom. i. lib. xxii. ſect. 10.

been

been heard to declare, that the prince, though ſcarcely arrived at the years of manhood, had often ſuggeſted expedients to him that were of great advantage to his affairs. William was in the twenty-third year of his age when Charles reſigned his dominions, yet he had already received ſeveral public proofs of the emperor's attachment. Not to mention his making choice of him to ſupport him in that auguſt aſſembly in which he reſigned his dominions, or his beſtowing on him, in preference to his other courtiers, the honour of carrying the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand; he had appointed him commander in chief of his army, in the abſence of the duke of Savoy, when the prince was only two and twenty years old. Againſt this meaſure all his counſellors had remonſtrated, and had repreſented to him the ſuperior character of the French generals, the duke de Nevers and the admiral de Coligni. But Charles adhered to his choice, and had no reaſon afterwards to repent of it. William not only ſaved the troops while they were under his command from ſuſtaining any misfortune or calamity, but fortified Charlemont and Philipville, and thereby ſecured the frontier of the Netherlands, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts which the enemy could make to prevent him. This uncommon degree of attachment that was ſhewn him by the father, was the real cauſe of the coldneſs with which he was treated by the ſon. Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters were envious of his riſing greatneſs, and took every opportunity to inſpire Philip with ſuſpicions of his deſigns, and an averſion to his character. Philip was confirmed in his ſuſpicions by William's refuſing to accept of the command of the troops; and ſaw that neither he, nor count Egmont, who likewiſe declined accepting it, were perſons on whom he could depend for executing the plan which he had formed for eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm in the provinces.

He

BOOK III. 1559.

He left them however in poſſeſſion of the ſeveral governments to which they had been appointed, and ſtill allowed them to hold their places as formerly in the council of ſtate. He did not chuſe to exaſperate them too much. Their merit, he was ſenſible, intitled them to all the honours and offices which they enjoyed. He knew how extenſive their influence was among the people; and he was conſcious they had been guilty of nothing that could juſtify him for removing them from their employments; ſince, even when their conduct had offended him the moſt, they had only exerciſed thoſe rights, which, by the fundamental laws of the country, belonged to every inhabitant of the Netherlands.

But although Philip did not think proper to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, he reſolved that they ſhould not have power to fruſtrate his intentions. And for this purpoſe he left, for principal counſellor to the regent, the biſhop of Arras, whoſe views were entirely coincident with his own, and in whom, therefore, the dutcheſs of Parma was deſired to repoſe unlimited confidence.

The biſhop of Arras.

Antony Perenot, biſhop of Arras, ſo well known in the hiſtory of the Netherlands by the name of cardinal Granvelle, was ſon to the celebrated chancellor of that name, whom the late emperor had for many years intruſted with the management of his moſt important affairs. Antony having been early initiated into buſineſs, had been employed by the emperor for ſeveral years in the niceſt political negociations, and in ſome of the higheſt departments of the ſtate. He was a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and particularly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his activity, his induſtry, and addreſs. Yet he was extremely odious to the people whom he was left to govern, who conſidered him as the principal author of all their grievances. In the court of Charles, and afterwards in that of Philip, he had ac-

quired habits and principles not unſuitable perhaps to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince, but which rendered him exceedingly unfit for the government of the Low Countries, where the power of the ſovereign was ſo much limited by the laws. He was naturally choleric and haughty, vain, and oſtentatious of his credit with the king; and, by an imperious and intereſted behaviour, had diſguſted many of his friends, and inflamed the reſentment of his enemies. He was particularly obnoxious to the principal nobility; and, in the courſe of his miniſtry, had been inſtrumental in diſappointing many of them in their moſt favourite views of ambition and intereſt [p]. BOOK III. 1559.

In the hands of a perſon ſo univerſally diſliked, it could not reaſonably be expected that the government would proceed ſmoothly. While Philip himſelf was preſent, the diſcontented nobles were overawed. But no ſooner was that reſtraint removed which the king's preſence impoſed upon them, than their ill-humour broke out, with a degree of violence that drew after it the moſt ſerious and important conſequences.

[p] Bentivoglio, & Strada, & Dom' l'Eveſque, tom. i.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK IV.

PHILIP set sail from the Netherlands with a fleet of near seventy ships, on the 20th of August, and arrived at Loredo, in the province of Biscay, on the 29th. He reached the port in safety, but no sooner had he landed than a dreadful storm arose, in which a part of his fleet was shipwrecked; above a thousand men perished, and a great number of capital paintings, statues, and other curious works of art, were lost, which Charles had been employed during forty years in collecting, in Germany, Italy, and Flanders.

BOOK IV. 1559. Philip's arrival in Spain.

PHILIP, animated by a spirit similar to that which prompted him, after the victory of St. Quintin, to consecrate a church to St. Laurence, thought he could not, on this occasion, express his gratitude for his preservation, in a manner more acceptable to the Deity, than by declaring his resolution to dedicate his life to the defence of the catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy [a].

[a] Father Paul, lib. v. p. 417.

BOOK IV.

1559.

The joy of the Spaniards on this occasion.

As the Spaniards had not for many years enjoyed the presence of their sovereign, his arrival diffused universal joy throughout the kingdom. His administration before his marriage with the queen of England had procured him the general esteem, and he was now more respected than ever, on account of the signal success with which his arms had been attended in his war with France, and the moderation and equity which he had displayed in the peace of Chateau-Cambresis.

Philip's attachment to Spain.

The proofs of affection which he received at this time from his Spanish subjects, were the stronger, because, although Philip seldom suffered either joy or sorrow to appear in his looks, his discourse, or behaviour, it was well known how much he was attached to his native country, more than to any of his other dominions; and it was generally believed, that he intended to fix in it his perpetual residence. His manners were suited only to those of his Spanish subjects; he could not, as has been already mentioned, speak with facility any other language but theirs, and he possessed not that courage and enterprise by which the late emperor had been determined to undertake so many voyages and journies to the different states which were subject to his dominion. The Low Countries had not, in the eyes of Philip, those charms by which Charles had been so powerfully attracted; and were particularly disagreeable to him, on account of the restrictions which their free constitution of government imposed on his authority.

In the beginning of the reign of Charles, Spain was one of the freest states in Europe; but as the nobles were humbled, and their power abridged, during the arbitrary, but vigorous administration of cardinal Ximenes; so the ill-concerted and unsuccessful attempt which the commons of Castile made some years afterwards, to assert their rights, served only to exalt the royal prerogative,

prerogative, which they intended to have circumscribed, and to reduce the Cortes to an intire dependence on the crown. And although in Arragon the people still enjoyed their ancient privileges, yet there was little probability that they would ever adventure to dispute the will of their prince; who possessed such inexhaustible resources, and could, when he pleased, employ even their own countrymen the Castilians, to subdue them. But there was no circumstance which served more to increase Philip's partiality for Spain, and to make him prefer it to any of his other dominions for the place of his abode, than the full establishment which the court of inquisition had acquired in that kingdom, and the security which this institution afforded him against the propagation of heresy.

Of the inquisition.

THIS tribunal, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurse and guardian of ignorance and superstition, in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain near a century before the present period, by Ferdinand and Isabella; and was principally intended to prevent the relapse of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. Its jurisdiction was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all those who, in their practice or opinions, differed from the established church. In the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, there were eighteen different inquisitorial courts; having each of them its counsellors, termed Apostolic Inquisitors; its secretaries, serjeants, and other officers; and besides these, there were twenty thousand familiars dispersed throughout the kingdom, who acted as spies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all suspected persons, and to commit them for their trial, to the prisons which belonged to the inquisition. By these familiars, persons were seized on bare suspicion; and, in contra-

 diction,

BOOK IV. 1559.

diction to the common rules of law, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquisitors, without being confronted either with their accusers, or with the witnesses on whose evidence they were condemned. The punishments inflicted were more or less dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either strangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and shut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiscated, and their families stigmatised with infamy [b].

This institution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession; but it had a tendency likewise to destroy the sweets of social life; to banish all freedom of thought and speech; to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks in life to a state of abject dependence upon priests; whose integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrouled authority which they were allowed to exercise.

Such nearly were the sentiments which even the Spaniards entertained of this iniquitous tribunal, at the time when it was erected [c]. But not having had experience then of its pernicious effects, and considering it as intended for the chastisement of Jews and infidels, they only murmured and complained; till, the yoke being wreathed about their necks, the most secret murmurings became dangerous, and often fatal to those who uttered them.

Effects of this institution on the character of the people.

By this tribunal, a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people; and reserve, distrust, and jealousy, became the distinguishing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and con-

[b] Mariana, lib. xxiv. c. xvi. p. 137. [c] Mariana.

firmed

firmed the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. It inflamed the rage of religious bigotry; and, by the cruel ſpectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiariſed the people, it nouriſhed in them that ferocious ſpirit, which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifeſted by deeds that have fixed an everlaſting reproach on the Spaniſh name. BOOK IV. 1559.

BUT theſe conſiderations could not be apprehended by Philip; nor, if they had been ſuggeſted to him, would they have had any influence upon his conduct. He had imbibed, in all its virulence, that ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, which gave birth to the inquiſition. He regarded heretics as the moſt odious of criminals; and conſidered a departure in his ſubjects from the Romiſh ſuperſtition, as the moſt dreadful calamity that could befal them. He was therefore determined to ſupport the inquiſitors with all his power, and he encouraged them to exert themſelves, in the exerciſe of their office, with the utmoſt diligence.

THE zeal and vigilance of theſe men fully correſponded to that ardour with which their ſovereign was inflamed; yet ſo irreſiſtible in this age was the ſpirit of innovation, and ſo great the force of truth, that the opinions of the reformers had found their way even into Spain, and were embraced openly by great numbers of both ſexes, among whom there were both prieſts and nuns.

Caranza Abp. of Toledo.

EVEN the archbiſhop of Toledo, Bartlemi di Caranza y Miranda, was, from certain propoſitions contained in a catechiſm which he publiſhed, ſuſpected to have eſpouſed them. The inquiſitors informed the king of the grounds of their ſuſpicion, and deſired to receive his inſtructions for their conduct. Caranza had been univerſally reſpected as one of the moſt virtuous and learned prelates in Spain. Having, when provincial of the order of St. Dominique, been carried by Philip into England, as a perſon well qualified

BOOK II. 1559.

qualified to promote the re-establishment of popery in that kingdom, he had laboured with so much zeal for that end, and thereby recommended himself so powerfully to the king, that in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven, Philip advanced him to the primacy. His first employment after attaining this high dignity was to administer spiritual comfort to the late emperor, whom he attended in his last distress. But the memory of his merit and services was now obliterated. Philip wrote to the inquisitors from the Netherlands, that they must, without hesitation, proceed against the Archbishop as they would do against other delinquents; and that they should not spare even his own son, if they found him guilty of heresy. Caranza was accordingly thrown into prison, and his revenues were sequestrated. The propositions in his catechism, at which the inquisitors had taken offence, were held to be of a disputable nature even among the Catholics themselves. It is probable, however, that sentence would have been pronounced against him, had not the pope interposed, and claimed an exclusive right to decide the cause. Philip, anxious for the honour of the holy office, to whose power he was desirous that no bounds should be prescribed, employed all his interest to prevail on the pontiff to drop his pretensions. But at last he himself yielded; and Caranza, after having languished in prison for six years and seven months, was transported to Rome, where he was released from confinement, but died in a few weeks after he was set at liberty[e].

An Autè-de fè at Valladolid,

Before Philip's arrival in the city of Valladolid, an Autò-de-fè had been celebrated, in which a great number of protestants were committed to the flames. There were still in the prisons of the inquisition more than thirty persons, against whom the same dreadful punishment had been denounced. Philip, eager

witnessed by Philip.

[e] Ferreras, Annis 1559 and 1565. Campana, an. 1559. Miniana, lib. v. c. xi.

1559.

to give public proof as early as possible of his abhorrence of these innovators, desired the inquisitors to fix a day for their execution; and he resolved to witness it. The dreadful ceremony (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world) was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisitors could devise; and Philip, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a sermon from the bishop of Zamora, he rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword, as a signal, that with *it* he would defend the holy faith, he caused an oath to be administered to him by the Inquisitor-General, that he would support the inquisition and its ministers, against all heretics and apostates, or others who should attempt to oppose it; and would compel his subjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

AMONG the protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Sessa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy, saying, "And can'st thou thus, O king, witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do not deserve it." "No," Philip sternly replied, "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou [e]." After which, he beheld the horrid spectacle that followed, with a composure and tranquillity that betokened the most unfeeling heart.

THIS dreadful severity, joined with certain rigid laws, enacted to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, soon produced the desired effect. After the celebration of another Autò-de-fè [f], in

[e] Io traen lenna para quemar a mi hijo, si fuere tan malo como vos. Cabrera, lib. v. c. iii. Miniana, l. v, c. xi.

[f] In Seville.

which

BOOK IV. 1559.

which about fifty protestants suffered, all the rest, if there were any who still remained, either concealed their sentiments, or made their escape into foreign parts[g].

PHILIP proceeded next to settle the civil government of the kingdom; and, according to the Spanish historians, he discovered in the choice of his ministers, and of the governors of towns and provinces, much prudence and circumspection; of which last, an historian gives the following instance, that besides making diligent inquiry concerning the characters of the several candidates for office, he kept a register for his own use, in which he recorded all the vices and defects, as well as the virtues and accomplishments of each[h].

HE might have confined his attention to objects of this nature, and have applied himself wholly to the internal administration of his dominions, had he not found it necessary to provide against the hostile intentions with which the Turkish emperor, and the corsairs of Barbary, were animated against him.

Of the Turkish emperor.

THE Ottoman empire was, in the present period, at the summit of its glory, under the victorious Solyman; the greatest and the most enlightened of all the Sultans. In Persia, in Hungary, and in Africa, this heroic prince had widely extended the limits of his empire; had expelled the knights of St. John from Rhodes, which till then had been deemed impregnable; had stripped the Venetians of a great part of their territories; laid waste the coasts of Italy and Spain; and filled all Europe with admiration of his exploits, and with the terror of his name. From the time of his competition with Ferdinand in Hungary, he had regarded the princes of the house of Austria as his rivals. He had assisted Henry II. of France, first against Charles, and afterwards against Philip; as he had formerly assisted Francis against the emperor.

g Miniana, lib. v. c. xi. h Ibid.

BOOK IV. 1559.

And in the late war, although by ſome accident his fleet did not arrive in time to act in concert with that of France, yet it came afterwards under his admiral Piali, who, having landed his troops in Italy, and in the iſlands of Prochita and Minorca, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and carried off many hundred priſoners into ſlavery[1].

FROM an enemy ſo powerful and enterpriſing, Philip had much to apprehend. But he believed it to be inconſiſtent with the character of protector of the church, to which he aſpired, to enter into any alliance with a prince who was the declared and irreconcilable enemy of Chriſtianity; and therefore, far from propoſing any terms of accommodation, he iſſued orders for putting the coaſts of Spain and Italy into a poſture of defence, leſt Solyman ſhould find leiſure from his other occupations to renew hoſtilities.

The Corſairs of Barbary.

BUT the Spaniſh monarch had more immediate cauſe of inquietude from the corſairs on the coaſt of Africa, who had become much more formidable than before by the aſſiſtance which Solyman had afforded them ever ſince they acknowledged him for their ſovereign. They conſiſted of Turks, Arabs, Negroes, and Moors; the laſt of whom were partly natives, and partly ſuch as had been expelled from Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Iſabella. They were all men of barbarous manners, inflamed with the moſt bigoted zeal for the Mahometan religion, open foes to almoſt every Chriſtian power, and animated with a peculiar hatred againſt the Spaniards, who had often attacked them in their ſtrong holds, and had long treated their brother Mahometans, the Moreſcoes in Spain, with inhumanity. They had often taken full revenge for theſe injuries, under the celebrated brothers, Horuc and Hay-

[1] Ferreras, ann. 1558.

BOOK IV. 1559.

radin Barbaroſſas. Their principal fleet was now commanded by another corſair, of the name of Dragut, the Barbaroſſa of his age, and not inferior to either of the two brothers in thoſe qualifications by which they were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

Dragut.

Born in a little village in Natolia, oppoſite to the iſle of Rhodes, and ſprung, like the Barbaroſſas, from the meaneſt parents, Dragut had, in his youth, enliſted himſelf on board a Turkiſh galley, and had ſerved there for ſome years as a common ſailor. In that ſtation he gave conſpicuous proofs of his capacity. He ſeemed however to be governed by a paſſion extremely different from that ambition which is the ordinary attendant upon genius, and to have no other end in view than to enrich himſelf. But as ſoon as he had acquired a certain ſum of money, he purchaſed a galley of his own, and began the adventurous occupation of a corſair, in which he became remarkable for his ſkill in navigation, his knowledge of the ſeas, his intrepidity, and enterpriſe. His character did not remain long unknown to Hayradin Barbaroſſa, who was at that time high admiral of the Turkiſh fleet. Barbaroſſa gladly received Dragut into his ſervice, and having made him his lieutenant, he gave him the command of twelve of his ſhips of war. With this fleet Dragut did infinite miſchief to all the European ſtates who traded in the Mediterranean, the French only excepted, whoſe monarchs were in alliance with the Turkiſh emperor. He ſuffered no ſeaſon to paſs unemployed. Scarcely a ſingle Spaniſh or Italian ſhip eſcaped him; and when he failed in taking a ſufficient number of prizes, he commonly made ſome ſudden deſcent on the coaſts of Spain or Italy, plundering the country, and carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. In theſe deſcents he was generally fortunate; but in the year 1541, having landed his men in a creek in Corſica, they were ſcattered along the coaſt, and employed in collecting

collecting their booty, when Juanetin Doria, the brave nephew of the illustrious Andrew Doria, came upon him with a superior force, took nine of his ships, and compelled him to surrender. When he was carried on board the admiral's galley, he could not restrain his indignation, but exclaimed, "And am I then doomed "to be thus loaded with fetters by a beardless youth?" a saying which occasioned his meeting with harder usage than he would otherwise have received. Both Barbarossa and Solyman interested themselves in his behalf, and made tempting offers to the Genoese for his ransom. Notwithstanding which they detained him four years in captivity; nor could they be persuaded to set him at liberty till Barbarossa, with a hundred gallies under his command, appeared before their town, and threatened to lay it in ashes if he were not instantly released. The Genoese found it necessary to comply with this request; and Dragut, who was immediately afterwards furnished with a strong squadron of ships by Barbarossa, and was now inflamed with redoubled hatred against all who bore the name of Christians, resumed his former occupation, and sought after opportunities, with unceasing ardor, to wreck his vengeance upon his enemies. Besides captures which he made at sea, he sacked and pillaged, year after year, innumerable villages and towns in Italy and the adjacent isles. Having been dispossessed by Doria of his strong sea-port of Mohedia on the coast of Barbary, he had ample revenge afterwards on that gallant seaman, in an engagement off Naples, in which he took six of his ships, with a 1552. great number of troops on boards, and obliged Doria himself, and the rest of the fleet, to fly before him. In the year immediately following he subdued almost the whole island of Corsica, and delivered it into the hands of the French. After this, having made himself master of Tripoli, he fortified that place in the strongest manner. From Tripoli he issued forth as often as the season would

BOOK IV. 1559.

would permit; and after Philip's accession, and even after peace was concluded between France and Spain, he continued to practise as formerly his depredations upon the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and other states which belonged to the Spanish monarchy.

Expedition against Tripoli and the isle of Gerba.

Of these hostilities Philip had received particular information before he left the Netherlands, and had been earnestly exhorted by the Sieur de la Valette, grand-master of the knights of Malta, and the duke de Medina Cœli, governor of Sicily, to think seriously of putting an end to the innumerable mischiefs to which his subjects were exposed from this active corsair, by sending such a force against him as might compel him to abandon his retreat. Philip readily consented to this request; and as he was informed by la Vallette, that Dragut himself was absent at that time from Tripoli, carrying on an inland war against one of the kings in Barbary, he sent immediate orders to the duke de Medina Cœli, Doria, and others, to hasten forward the preparations necessary for the intended enterprise. The pope and most of the other princes in Italy contributed their assistance, and a fleet was assembled consisting of more than a hundred ships, having 14,000 soldiers on board. This armament, of which the duke de Medina Cœli had the chief command, set sail from Messina in the end of October 1559, and passed over to Syracuse. There it was detained by contrary winds for several weeks, and during that time a disease, occasioned by unwholesome provisions, carried off between three and four thousand of the troops. Medina Cœli however proceeded in his voyage, still hoping that he had force sufficient to ensure success; and it is probable that he would not have been disappointed had he advanced directly and laid siege to Tripoli. But he thought it would facilitate the reduction of that place, to make himself master before-hand of the isle of Gerba, which lies a few miles from Tripoli, and was held by a Moorish

BOOK IV.

1559.

Moorish governor, attached to the interest of Dragut. This island was subdued with little difficulty; and a castle which had been erected upon it was, after a feeble resistance, abandoned by the Moors, whose commander swore allegiance upon the Alcoran to the king of Spain.

It was the opinion of some of the principal officers that this castle should be immediately destroyed, and that the fleet should proceed to Tripoli without delay. But the duke was unfortunately of a different opinion, and resolved not only to preserve the castle, but to strengthen and enlarge it. In this preposterous undertaking a great deal of time was lost. Dragut had returned with his army from his inland expedition; and he had leisure not only to provide for the security of the town, but to send notice to the Grand Seignior of the operations of the Christian fleet, which he represented might be attacked with great advantage in its present situation, while the commander was off his guard, and most of the forces were on shore.

Destruction of the Spanish fleet by the Turks.

Solyman embraced without hesitation the tempting opportunity which was thus presented to him. He fitted out, with the utmost expedition, a fleet of seventy-four gallies, put a hundred Janissaries, besides other soldiers, on board each of them, and gave the command to his admiral Piali, with orders to proceed in his voyage as fast as possible. The Spaniards were informed of his approach by a Maltese frigate, and were thrown into great perplexity. A council of war was immediately held. Some officers were for waiting till the enemy should arrive, and advised Medina to give them battle. Others, among whom was the younger Doria [k], whose courage was unquestionable, were of opinion, that considering the sickly condition of the troops, and the great diminution

[k] The elder Doria was prevented from taking a part in this expedition by the infirmities of old age.

which

BOOK IV. 1559.

which they had undergone, they could not contend with ſo powerful an enemy without the utmoſt danger of a total overthrow, and therefore that they ought immediately to retire, and conduct the fleet to a place of ſafety. The duke de Medina Cœli, a man of no experience in maritime affairs, and utterly unqualified for the charge which he had undertaken, was at a loſs to determine to which of the two meaſures propoſed he ſhould give the preference. There was a neceſſity for embracing inſtantly either the one or the other. Yet he balanced between them for ſome days, and ſtill continued to make the troops work in completing the fortifications of the caſtle, till intelligence was brought him that the enemy were at hand, and ſteering directly towards the iſland.

THERE was no time now to put the fleet into a poſture of defence. Both the mariners and ſoldiers were overwhelmed with terror; and each crew, without waiting for the word of command, made haſte, with oars and ſails, to eſcape from the impending danger. Several ſhips foundered among the flats and ſhallows. Others were driven back by the wind, or by the enemy, and wrecked upon the iſland. Some eſcaped, and particularly thoſe which belonged to the order of St. John, through their ſuperior acquaintance with the coaſt. Above thirty were taken by the Turks; about one thouſand men were killed or drowned, and five thouſand taken priſoners. Medina Cœli, with Doria and ſome other principal officers, paſſed in the night through the middle of the enemy's fleet, and arrived ſafe at Malta; having, before his departure, committed the charge of the fort of Gerba to Don Alvaro de Sandé, to whom he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance and relief.

The ſiege of the fort of Gerba by the Turks.

THIS valiant Spaniard had very little reaſon to truſt to theſe aſſurances, and could not expect to be able to hold out long

1559.

long againſt ſo great a force as he knew would be employed againſt him; eſpecially as he was but indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, and was much more likely to find enemies than friends in the natives of the iſland. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, he readily undertook the arduous taſk aſſigned him; and having got his garriſon augmented by the crews of thoſe ſhips which, in attempting to make their eſcape, had been driven back upon the coaſt, he prepared with great alacrity for a vigorous defence.

PIALI loſt no time after his victory, but immediately landed his troops and began the ſiege. He was furniſhed with artillery by Dragut, who brought it himſelf, together with ſome freſh forces, from Tripoli. About twelve thouſand Turks, beſides the iſlanders and other Moors, were employed in the ſiege. In their firſt approaches many of them were killed. But ſoon after their battery had been unmaſked, a great part of the wall of the fort was laid in ruins. The beſieged in the mean time began to ſuffer greatly from the heat of the ſeaſon, and from the ſcarcity and unwholeſomeneſs of the water and proviſions. Great numbers died, and many, grown impatient under the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, deſerted to the enemy. By theſe men Piali was informed of the diſtreſſed condition of the garriſon; and he invited them to ſurrender, and promiſed to ſpare their lives. Don Alvaro rejected this offer with diſdain, and ſtill perſiſted in the defence. But at length finding that his ſtock of proviſions was almoſt ſpent, and having deſpaired of the relief which had been promiſed by Medina, he called together the garriſon, which amounted now only to one thouſand men, and having reminded them of the glory which they had acquired, and informed them that they had neither bread to ſupport their bodies, nor numbers to defend the fort any longer, he deſired them to reſolve, whether they would give them-

End of July 1560.

BOOK IV. 1560.

themselves up tamely to be the slaves of their barbarous enemy, or imitate the example which he would set them, and die with their arms in their hands, fighting bravely for the honour of their religion and their country. The soldiers called out with one voice, "That they chose death rather than slavery; and were ready to follow wheresoever he should lead them." He then desired they would refresh themselves with such victuals as still remained, and hold themselves in readiness to leave the fort about the middle of the night.

At that time they set out, by the gate which looked towards the sea, and having passed a triple rampart, which had been thrown up to prevent their sallies, they made dreadful havoc among the Turks, and had almost reached the general's tent, when they were put to a stand by the Janissaries. They fought long and desperately; but at last, the whole Turkish camp being up in arms, they were overpowered by numbers, and almost all of them were slain. Alvaro, with two officers who had kept near him, forced his way through the thickest part of the enemy, till he reached the shore, and got on board a Spanish ship which had been stranded. There he was standing at day-break, with his target in one hand and his sword in the other, surrounded by the Turkish soldiers, who would have quickly buried him under their darts, if their officers, who highly respected his heroic valour, had not restrained them. Having been urged by a Genoese renegado to lay down his arms, and assured of receiving a treatment suitable to his rank and merit, he at last consented to surrender himself to Piali [1].

[1] He was carried to Constantinople with the other prisoners, and was afterwards set at liberty, by an article in a treaty of peace between the Sultan and the emperor of Germany.

SUCH

SUCH was the conclusion of this unfortunate enterprise; the failure of which, and all the calamities which ensued, seem to have been owing principally to the weakness, obstinacy, and inexperience of the commander in chief; yet we do not find that Philip ever expressed any dissatisfaction with his conduct. He either viewed it in a different light from that in which it has been represented by the contemporary historians; or he considered, that it would have been a tacit acknowledgment of his own want of discernment, to accuse, of imprudence or incapacity, a person whom he had judged deserving of so great a trust. Instead of this, he applied himself to provide against the effects which he had reason to dread from the success of the Turkish arms. He could hardly doubt that Piali would pursue his victory, and make a descent on the coasts of Spain or Italy.

THE inhabitants were every where agitated with the most alarming apprehensions. Watch-towers were raised along the coast; and the fleet, which had lately suffered so much, was repaired with the utmost diligence. But these preparations, although they were afterwards found useful, were not at present necessary. Solyman having other objects of ambition which engrossed his attention, recalled his fleet to Constantinople, and thus delivered the Italians and Spaniards from their present fears [m].

The siege of Oran and Masarquivir.

PHILIP soon afterwards received intelligence that Hascem, son of the celebrated Barbarossa, and viceroy of Algiers under Solyman, had formed a design upon Oran and Masarquivir, two strong forts on the coast of Barbary, which had been in the possession of Spain since the year one thousand five hundred and nine, when they were subdued by cardinal Ximenes. In order to frustrate this design, a fleet of twenty-four gallies had been ordered to sail to Oran, for the reinforcement of the garrison; but

[m] Cabrera, lib. v. c. v. viii. xii. xiii. Miniana, lib. v. c. xii.

BOOK IV. 1559.

this fleet had been overtaken in the middle of its course by a dreadful storm, in which two and twenty of the ships were lost, and upwards of four thousand men.

By this accident Hascem was encouraged to proceed in his projected enterprise. Having persuaded several of the Mahometan princes in Barbary to assist him with their troops, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Oran early in the spring, with a fleet of more than thirty ships, and an army of a hundred thousand men. Of the two places which he intended to attack, only Masarquivir is a sea-port, and Oran lies at the distance of near a league from it. With so great an army he was enabled to block up both places at once; but he began his operations with the siege of Masarquivir, which, though of greater importance by reason of its situation, was not so strongly fortified.

The count de Alcaudeté, the Spanish governor, who had foreseen the approaching storm, had provided to the utmost of his power for the security of the places committed to his care; and both he and his brother Don Martin de Cordova, to whom he committed the chief command in Masarquivir, were determined to hold out to the last extremity. Many bloody rencounters passed between the contending parties, in the sallies which Alcaudeté made from Oran; and in these the Spaniards had generally the advantage. Don Martin, and the troops under his command, gave, if possible, still stronger proofs of intrepidity in their defence of Masarquivir. The walls were laid in ruins by the enemy's artillery. Hascem made eleven different assaults, and his standard was raised again and again upon the ruins of the walls; yet he was finally repulsed, and obliged, notwithstanding his numbers, to yield to the unconquerable obstinacy of the Spaniards. These brave men, however, were now sensible, that, from the want of provisions, they must ere long either throw away their lives, or submit

mit to that odious ſlavery to which they knew that the implacable hatred of their ungenerous enemy had doomed them.

BOOK IV.

1559.

The ſiege of Oran raiſed by the Spaniards.

PHILIP was not ignorant of the diſtreſs to which they were reduced; and he had exerted himſelf with great activity in making preparations for their relief. But as Maſarquivir was blocked up by ſea as well as by land, it was neceſſary that the ſupplies which he had provided ſhould be accompanied with a fleet ſuperior to that of the enemy. Such a fleet he at laſt collected from Italy and the ſea-ports in Spain, and gave the command of it to Don Francis de Mendoza, with inſtructions to ſail for Maſarquivir with the utmoſt expedition. Mendoza happily arrived in time. Having come unexpectedly upon Haſcem's fleet, he took nine ſhips, and put the reſt to flight; and Haſcem himſelf, who had been employed for ſome days in preparing for a new aſſault, perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed from the Spaniſh fleet on the one hand, and the garriſons in Oran and Maſarquivir on the other, raiſed the ſiege precipitately, after it had laſted for three months; and marched off with all his forces to Algiers. The Spaniards purſued for ſeveral miles; but finding they were unable to overtake him, they returned; and the fleet, after reinforcing the garriſons of Oran and Maſarquivir, ſet ſail for Spain, where they were received with great rejoicing. The count de Alcaudeté was ſoon after made viceroy of Navarre; Don Martin received diſtinguiſhed marks of the royal favour; and all the officers, and even private ſoldiers, were rewarded in proportion to their rank and merit[a].

The reduction of Pennon de Velez by the Spaniards.

DURING the abſence of the fleet the trade of Spain had ſuſtained conſiderable prejudice from the depredations of a celebrated corſair, of the name of Cara Muſtapha, who, with a ſquadron of ſix or ſeven ſhips, traverſed the Mediterranean with un-

[a] Cabrera, lib. vi. Herrera Hiſt. Gen. del Mondo, lib. v. c. iii. and iv.

wearied

BOOK IV. 1559.

wearied activity, and made innumerable captures. His retreat was a fort on the African coast, called Pennon de Velez, which, in those days, before the invention of bombs, was reckoned almost impregnable. It is situated on a steep and rugged rock, and is inaccessible, except by a narrow path, cut out in the rock itself; which is separated from the continent by a channel, capable of containing about a dozen of those ships which were usually employed in cruising. This rock was fortified, both above and below, with a wall, flanked with bastions, and mounted with cannon; and afforded a constant shelter and protection to the corsairs, when pursued. From its situation near the Straits, these corsairs could annoy the Christians, while they themselves were exposed to very little danger; and it was become an object of the most serious concern to all the Christian powers who traded in the Mediterranean, to wrest it from them.

In consequence of a report which gained credit, that Solyman intended this year to make an attack either on Spain or Italy, Philip had greatly augmented his naval force; but when he found that either there had been no ground for this report, or that the Sultan had changed his design, he thought that he could not employ his fleet more usefully than by attempting to reduce Pennon de Velez, which had been long an object of much dread to his subjects.

Not satisfied with his own numerous fleet, he solicited assistance from Portugal, from the knights of Malta, and from his allies in Italy; nor did he permit them to set sail from Malaga, the place of rendezvous, till he had collected above ninety gallies, besides sixty ships of a smaller size, with no less than thirteen thousand soldiers on board. The providing of so great a force was not merely an effect of that extraordinary caution with which Philip commonly entered upon any military enterprise;

terprise; and such a number of troops could not be employed in besieging a place of such small extent as Pennon de Velez; but, as the Moors in the country adjacent were deeply interested in the preservation of the fort, on account of immense quantities of commodities of all kinds, and the number of Christian slaves which were daily sold to them by the corsairs, there was reason to apprehend that they would consider the cause of these pirates as their own, and give all the opposition in their power to the Spaniards, in the operations of the siege.

AGREEABLY to this persuasion, the allies no sooner arrived upon the coast, than great numbers of these barbarians appeared among the hills, by the foot of which the army were obliged to pass in their way to the fort. But these tumultuary troops were not able to prevent the Spaniards from landing; nor, although they gave them some annoyance on their march, could they obstruct the operations of so formidable a body of regular forces. Still, however, it was the opinion of several of the allies, that after all that could be done to reduce a fort of so singular a construction, they would in the issue find it necessary to abandon their attempt. This would probably have happened, if Mustapha himself had been present. But, in order to save his ships from falling a prey to the enemy, he had left the place some time before, and given the command of it to a renegado, of the name of Ferret, with two hundred Turks under him, and ammunition and provisions sufficient to serve for a much longer time than the blockade was likely to continue.

HE believed that the Spaniards would soon perceive the folly of their undertaking; and was therefore employed in his usual practice of cruising, with very little concern about the fate of his retreat. But he had been deceived in his opinion of those to whom he had committed a charge of so great importance. Both

BOOK IV. 1559.

the governor and garriſon were intimidated by the ſight of that powerful fleet and army which now encompaſſed them. No ſooner were ſome of their guns diſmounted by a Spaniſh battery, and a part of the wall demoliſhed, than they were ſtruck with the moſt violent panic, and the governor, and moſt of the garriſon, made their eſcape to the continent in the middle of the night, by ſwimming. Such of them only remained as could not ſwim; and by theſe men the fort was delivered to the Spaniards.

THERE was much good fortune and little glory in this valuable conqueſt; but the joy which it excited over all the ſouthern coaſt of Spain was inexpreſſible; and it was the more complete, as well as the more generally diffuſed, becauſe only a very ſmall number had been killed or wounded in their rencounters with the Moors. Don Garcia de Toledo, the commander in chief, was, ſoon after his return, rewarded by Philip, with the viceroyalty of Sicily [a].

[a] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. xvii. Ferreras, part xiv. Vertot's Hiſt. of the Knights of Malta.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK V.

BOOK V. 1559.

DURING the course of those military operations which have been described, Philip beheld with much anxiety the rapid progress of heresy in almost every state in Europe except Spain; and, in order to obstruct it, he employed all his influence to procure the convocation of a general council of the church.

The persecution of the protestants.

IN the first years of the reformation, the bigotry of those who adhered to the ancient superstition, suffered them not to think of any other means of extirpating the opinions of the protestants, but persecution; which was exercised against them with the same unrelenting severity, as if they had been guilty of the most atrocious crimes. But it soon appeared how inadequate this barbarous procedure was to the purpose which the Romanists intended. Those bloody edicts which were published, those fires which were lighted up, and that variety of torments which priests and inquisitors invented with ingenious cruelty, served in reality to

 propagate

BOOK V. 1559.

propagate the doctrines against which they were employed, and contributed to inflame, rather than extinguish, that ardent zeal with which the protestants were animated. Being firmly persuaded, that the cause which they maintained, was the cause of God and truth, and that their perseverance would be rewarded with a happy immortality, they courted their punishments instead of avoiding them; and in bearing them, they displayed a degree of fortitude and patience, which, by exciting admiration in the beholders, produced innumerable proselytes to the faith for which they suffered.

Progress of the Reformation.

SEVERAL princes had been converted to that faith. In some states the protestants had become more numerous and powerful than their opponents; and in others, their opinions so generally prevailed, that the catholic princes found it no longer possible to extirpate them, without depriving themselves of great multitudes of their most industrious subjects, on whom the wealth and importance of their states depended. The time when persecution might have proved effectual was past, and the princes came at length to perceive the necessity of having recourse to some more gentle means than had been hitherto employed. They were at the same time sensible, notwithstanding their prejudices against the reformers, that some reformation was extremely necessary; they had long borne with great impatience the numberless encroachments of the court of Rome; and were convinced, that if some abuses were removed, it would not be impracticable to persuade the protestants to return into the bosom of the church.

A general council desired by the catholic princes.

A GENERAL council appeared to be the only expedient by which this important end could be obtained; and the late emperor Charles had taken infinite pains to procure the convocation of that assembly. In former times the councils of the church had been convened by the emperors themselves; but, in the time of Charles, the

the power of calling them was, by all true catholics, confidered as the peculiar prerogative of the popes; who dreaded, that fuch affemblies might derogate from their ufurped authority, and were therefore inclined, if poffible, to prevent them from being held. With the timid Clement, Charles employed all his art and influence to procure a council, but in vain. Paul the Third was likewife exceedingly averfe from this meafure; but the emperor being feconded by almoft all the catholic princes in Europe, Paul yielded to their importunities, and fummoned a council to meet in Trent. From this place it was afterwards tranflated to Bologna. After the death of Paul it was again affembled in Trent in the year one thoufand five hundred and fifty-one, and continued to be held there till the year following; when it was prorogued for two years, upon war being declared againft the emperor, by the elector of Saxony.

In the feffions which were held under Paul, that fundamental tenet of the reformers, by which the writings of the evangelifts and apoftles are held to be the only rule of the Chriftian faith, was condemned; and equal authority was afcribed to the books termed Apocryphal, and to the oral tradition of the church.

From the manner in which the deliberations of this affembly were conducted; from the nature of its decifions, and from the blind attachment of a great majority of its members to the court of Rome, there was little ground to hope for the attainment of thofe ends for which the calling of it had been fo earneftly defired. But no other expedient could be devifed, which the catholics thought fo likely to ftop the progrefs of herefy; and therefore, as foon as the war between France and Spain was concluded, the feveral catholic princes began to think ferioufly of the reftoration of the council.

BOOK V.

1560.

The ftate of Europe.

The ftate of Europe at that time feemed more than ever to require the application of fome immediate remedy. The power and number of the proteftants was every day becoming more and more confiderable. Both England and Scotland had difclaimed allegiance to the fee of Rome, and new-modelled their religion. In the Netherlands the reformers had greatly multiplied of late, notwithftanding the moft dreadful cruelties had been exercifed againft them; and in France, where every province was involved in the moft terrible combuftion, there was ground to apprehend, that they would foon become too powerful for the catholics, and be able to wreft from them the reins of government. The new opinions had penetrated even into Italy, and had been embraced by a confiderable number of perfons both in Naples and Savoy. From the former of thefe States they were extirpated by the unrelenting feverity of Philip; who iffued orders to his viceroy to put all heretics to death without mercy, and even to purfue with fire and fword a remnant of them who had fled from Cofenza, and were living quietly among the mountains[a].

The pope's dread of national fynods in Savoy and in France.

But the duke of Savoy, unwilling to deprive himfelf of fo great a number of ufeful fubjects as had been converted to the proteftant faith, was inclined to attempt to enlighten and convince them; and with this view he defired the pope's permiffion to hold a colloquy of the principal ecclefiaftics in his dominions, on the fubject of religion. Pius was about the fame time informed, that in France a refolution had been formed to have recourfe to the fame expedient. He believed that no meafure could be devifed more likely to prove fatal to that exclufive prerogative which he claimed, of judging in matters of religion. He dreaded that the example of France and Savoy would be quickly followed by other States, and the decrees of provincial

[a] Paul, lib. v.

fynods

BOOK V. 1560.

synods substituted in the place of those of the Holy See. It highly concerned him, therefore, to prevent this measure (so pernicious to his authority) from taking place. Nor did he find much difficulty in dissuading the duke of Savoy from adopting it. "If the heretics," said he to the duke's ambassador, "stand in need of instruction, I will send divines and a legate, by whom they may be both instructed and absolved. But your master will find, that they will lend a deaf ear to all the instructions that can be given them, and will put no other interpretation upon his conduct, but that he wants power to compel them to submit. No good was ever produced by that lenity which he inclines to exercise; but from experience he may learn, that the sooner he shall execute justice on these men, and make use of force to reduce them, the more certain will be his success; and if he will comply with the counsel which I offer, he shall receive from me such assistance as will enable him to carry it into execution."

THE duke, who was sincerely attached to the Romish faith, and closely connected with Philip, unfortunately yielded to these persuasions, and engaged in a bloody war with his protestant subjects, of which he had afterwards the greatest reason to repent[b].

His aversion to the calling of a council.

THE pope met with much more difficulty in preventing a national synod in France, than in Savoy; and was obliged to promise, that he should call a general council without delay. Pius had, before his promotion, taken an oath to this purpose, as all the other cardinals had likewise done, before they proceeded to his election. But no sooner had he ascended the papal throne, than he adopted the sentiments of his predecessors; and shewed that he entertained the same aversion to this assembly which *they*

[b] He found it necessary at last to grant them the free exercise of their religion, after having been worsted by them in several skirmishes among the mountains, and suffering a total overthrow in a pitched battle, in which he lost 7000 of his troops. Paul, lib. v.

had so uniformly manifested. He remembered the motives which had determined Paul the Third to dissolve it, under the colour of a translation to Bologna. He reflected on the danger to which Julius had been exposed, and from which his good fortune and the war of Germany had delivered him; and he considered, that as there was now no prince so powerful as Charles, by whom the prelates could be overawed, they would probably assume a bolder tone in the council, and attempt to advance their own prerogatives on the ruins of the papacy.

He finds it necessary to consent to it.

FOR these reasons he would gladly have eluded the performance of his oath. But so great was his dread of the fatal consequences which might arise from a national synod in France, and so earnest the importunity of Philip, of the emperor, and other catholic princes, that he at last thought it necessary to comply with their request; resolving to employ all his attention in providing against the dangers to which his authority would be thereby exposed.

AFTER many delays, which Pius knew well how to interpose, the bull of convocation, summoning the council to meet in Trent at Easter, was published in the consistory on the twenty-ninth of September one thousand five hundred and sixty; and nuncios were dispatched to give intimation of it to all the Christian powers.

The bull of convocation.

THE pope and cardinals were greatly at a loss to determine whether the council should be mentioned in the bull as a new one, or as a continuation of that which had been held under Paul and Julius. The decision of this point, seemingly of small importance, was rendered difficult by the consequences which it involved. For if the continuation were declared, then all those decrees of the former sessions, which were levelled against the protestants, would be held sacred, and receive the sanction of the council that was about to be convened. The

protestants

protestants would consider themselves as already condemned, and pay no regard to the bull of convocation. Whereas, if in this bull the assembly to be summoned were denominated a new council, they might expect that all the points in controversy would be discussed anew, and consequently, might be persuaded to send deputies to the council, and to acknowledge its authority.

BOOK V. 1560.

In this the emperor and the queen mother and ministers of France were deeply interested; and they urged with great earnestness, that in the bull no mention should be made of the former sessions, and no occasion given the protestants to suspect that any restriction would be laid upon the proceedings of the council. Philip was governed by views and sentiments of a very different nature. His detestation of the protestants prevented him from relishing any other method of dealing with them, but that of force. He was utterly averse from making any concessions to reconcile them; and he desired the celebration of the council, not so much in order to recover those who had already revolted from the church, as either to prevent others from following their example, or, as Pius afterwards suspected, to increase the power of the bishops and princes, by abridging the jurisdiction of the pope; to whose exorbitant pretensions Philip was in reality adverse, notwithstanding that devoted attachment to the Holy See which he affected, in order to promote his ambitious designs. With these views and sentiments, Philip did not desire that the protestants should come to the council. He believed that their presence would serve only to perplex and retard its deliberations. He apprehended, that to suffer the decrees of the former sessions to be again discussed, would contribute to invalidate the authority of the council itself: and for this reason he thought it necessary that the intended meeting should be declared a continuation of the council which had formerly been prorogued.

BOOK V. 1560.

In this matter Philip's sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the pope; but Pius durst not, on this occasion, run the risque of giving offence either to the emperor or to the court of France; and therefore, after long deliberation, he couched the bull of convocation in such ambiguous expressions, as might be interpreted to signify either a new council, or a continuation of the former. This expedient had, in some degree, the effect intended. Although neither of the parties was entirely satisfied, yet neither of them was so much disgusted as either the one or the other would have been, if the terms had been explicit: and the bull was at length received by the emperor and the French king, as well as by Philip, and the other catholic princes; who all gave orders to the Ecclesiastics in their dominions to repair to Trent at the time appointed.

The protestants refuse to attend the council.

In the bull, only bishops, abbots, and others entitled to vote by the rules and ancient practice of the church, were summoned to attend. But an invitation was carried to the several protestant powers, by two nuncios, Martinengo and Commendone.

Their reasons.

The protestant princes in Germany were, on this occasion, assembled at Naumburgh, in Upper-Saxony; and to that place the emperor sent three ambassadors, to second the nuncios in their invitation. To the Imperial ambassadors, the princes replied in terms expressive of their respect for Ferdinand. They thanked him for the solicitude which he discovered in their behalf; and said, that nothing would be more agreeable to them than a general council, provided it were calculated to heal the divisions of the church. But no such desirable effect, they thought, could be expected from the council to which they were now invited; which was called by one whose authority they could not acknowledge; and in which (as appeared from the bull of convocation) only those were to have decisive

votes, who had ſworn allegiance to the pope, and the ſee of Rome.

THE nuncios however were brought in, and briefs were delivered by them from the pope to each of the princes; but theſe briefs were on the next day returned unopened, with the following declaration: "That as they did not acknowledge any juriſdiction in the biſhop of Rome, there was no reaſon why they ſhould explain to him their ſentiments of the council, which they had already done to the emperor [c]."

FROM Naumburg the nuncios ſet out for England and Denmark; but they were obliged to ſtop ſhort, Martinengo in the Low Countries, and Commendone at Lubec; the latter having been forbid to proceed by Frederic, and the former by Elizabeth, both of whom had reſolved to give no encouragement to the intended council.

The Council meets at Trent, and is governed by the pope and his legates.

THE opinion which the proteſtants entertained of the ſiniſter intentions of the pope was fully juſtified by the event. In the very firſt decree of the firſt ſeſſion, when many of the prelates were not yet arrived, his legates, who preſided in this aſſembly, procured it to be enacted, that they only ſhould propoſe the ſeveral queſtions to be diſcuſſed; and thus they made at once effectual proviſion againſt all attempts to correct any of the numberleſs abuſes in the court of Rome, for remedying which the meeting of the council had been deſired. Againſt this decree Philip and the other princes remonſtrated in the moſt importunate manner, and employed their intereſt, both with the pope and in the council, to procure the repeal of it. But all their endeavours were ineffectual. Their ſolicitude on this head ſerved only to confirm Pius in his ſuſpicions of their having formed a deſign to

[c] Paul, lib. v.

encroach

BOOK V. 1560.

encroach on his authority. He eluded their applications with consummate artifice, and sent orders to the legates to make all the opposition in their power to any proposal which might be made for annulling the decree.

Vain attempts to abridge the power of the pope.

This did not prevent several of the prelates from endeavouring to persuade the council to establish certain points, such as the divine institution and the residency of bishops, which would have struck deep at the root of the papal power. The pope, from whom the legates received instructions on every difficult emergency, was kept in perpetual anxiety; and he sometimes thought of suddenly dissolving an assembly, which he found so difficult to keep within the bounds he prescribed to it. But, by unremitted vigilance and attention, by threatening some prelates with his displeasure, by flattering others, and heaping promises upon them of advancement in the church; and above all, by means of the great number of Italian bishops [d], who depended entirely on his favour, he secured, in every question, a majority of voices; and not only prevented any decision from being passed that might be detrimental to his authority, but procured the ratification of many of those ecclesiastical usurpations which the princes, who had been so solicitous for the convocation of the council, had expected would have been abolished and condemned. These princes were greatly disappointed and chagrined. Their ambassadors, as well as the prelates, complained, that the council, far from enjoying freedom, were fettered in all their deliberations by the secret orders which were daily sent from Rome: and on this head, remonstrances were made again and again to the pope himself, who sometimes vouchsafed a soft, evasive reply; and at other times, appearing to be greatly offended, asserted that the council was at

[d] Many of them were so poor, that he was obliged to defray the expences of their attendance.

perfect

BOOK V. 1563.

perfect liberty; and insinuated, that the chief source of all the discontent on this head was, that the ambassadors of the princes had not the power of dictating the decrees.

WHATEVER ground there was for this insinuation, the deliberations of the council were conducted in the same manner as before, till at length Pius, grown impatient under the perpetual attention and expence which it required from him, sent orders to his legates to bring it as soon as possible to a conclusion. And it was concluded accordingly, with the most indecent precipitation, towards the end of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-three, without any considerable opposition from the princes, who had long despaired of deriving from it any of those salutary effects which had been expected *. They perceived that the pope's influence over it was not to be controuled; and foresaw that the continuance of it must serve only to augment and strengthen his authority, which it had been their intention to circumscribe. Of this they had the most convincing evidence in the concluding session, in which two decrees were passed that had not been mentioned before, and were manifestly designed as an acknowledgment of the subordination of the council to the Holy See. One of these was, That application should be made to the pope for his confirmation of the decrees; and the other, That whatever expressions had been employed in any of the decrees, were to be understood without prejudice to the pope's authority.

Conclusion of the council. 1563.

The last decrees.

PIUS rejoiced exceedingly when he was informed of the dissolution of the council, and still more when he received intelligence of these its last decrees. He ordained, on this occasion, a solemn thanksgiving; and in the consistory declared, that he would con-

1564. The pope's joy on this occasion.

* The acts were subscribed by the 4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 268 bishops, 7 abbots, 7 generals of regulars, and 39 proxies. Paul, lib. viii.

BOOK V. 1564.

firm all the decrees, and add many reformations to those which had been enacted by the council. By these reformations, some of his courtiers apprehended that the profits arising from their offices would be diminished; and they employed all their influence to dissuade him from his purpose. Pius had no intention to introduce any alterations of which they had reason to be afraid; but he considered, that his refusing to confirm the decrees would be interpreted as a condemnation of the council; that all its acts would be thereby brought into disrepute; and that occasion might thence be taken, by the French and others, to hold national assemblies. And he considered likewise, that it would depend entirely upon himself to determine, how far any particular decree should be carried into execution. For these reasons he disregarded the objections of his courtiers, and published his bull of confirmation, with the usual formalities; requiring all prelates and princes to receive and enforce the decrees of the holy council of Trent; prohibiting all persons, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, from writing any explication of them under the form of notes or commentaries; and commanding the catholics every where to have recourse, in all dubious cases, to the Apostolic See.

His bull of confirmation.

THIS bull was addressed only to the catholics; for Pius did not expect that any greater regard would be paid to it by the protestants than they had shewn to his bull of convocation. The whole conduct of the council had, from the beginning, been calculated to widen, instead of closing, that breach which subsisted between them and the Roman church. The ancient religion was now more clearly ascertained. Its doctrines, the offspring of subtile sophistry, artifice, and presumption, were formally defined; its rites, which had crept into the church in the dark ages of ignorance and superstition, were now made an essential part of wor-

Bad effects of the decrees of the council.

ſhip; and anathemas were pronounced againſt all perſons by whom either the former or the latter were not embraced. By this impolitic conduct the proteſtants were more clearly inſtructed where to direct their attack; and in thoſe abſurdities, into which men muſt fall who venture to dogmatiſe on ſubjects ſo myſterious as many articles of the chriſtian faith, they often found abundant matter of victory and triumph. No conceſſions of any kind had been made by the council, in order to reconcile them; but all their doctrines had been indiſcriminately condemned; and henceforth all ground of hope was cut off of ever inducing them to return into the boſom of the church, by any other means but open force and perſecution.

The decrees rejected by the court of France.

PIUS flattered himſelf that theſe means would ſooner or later prove effectual; and was therefore little concerned at the conduct of the proteſtants with reſpect to the council. He was much more deeply affected by the ill-humour which the queen-mother and miniſters of France diſcovered on the preſent occaſion. They had been ſomewhat diſguſted at the little regard that had been ſhewn to their deſire, of having the council declared to be a new council. They were diſpleaſed with the decrees of reformation, by ſome of which the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was extended beyond its former bounds; and they were highly diſſatiſfied with the tacit acknowledgment contained in the concluding decrees, of the ſuperiority of the pope above councils; an opinion which in France had been always impugned and rejected. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and deſirous at the ſame time of avoiding to give any freſh occaſion of diſcontent to the Calviniſts, the French court (although earneſtly ſolicited by Pius) refuſed to receive and publiſh the decrees [f].

[f] Father Paul, lib. v, vi, vii, viii.

BOOK V.

1564.

They are accepted by Philip, and other catholic princes.

Pius had reason to apprehend that the example of so great a monarchy would be imitated by the other catholic powers. But he had the pleasure of receiving information from his nuncios, that not only the Republic of Venice, and the several Italian princes, but most of the catholic princes in Germany, and the king of Spain, had resolved to acknowledge the authority of the council.

In forming this resolution, Philip gave a striking proof of that zeal which he so uniformly felt, or affected, for the catholic religion and the Holy See. No prince was ever more jealous of his power, or more tenacious of his rights; upon some of which encroachments had been made in the decrees of reformation. During the celebration of the council, he had complained loudly of the dependance in which it was held by the pope; he had again and again endeavoured, but in vain, to get that first decree rescinded, by which the legates alone could propose the questions to be discussed; and he had likewise been highly offended with the pope's precipitate dissolution of the council, in which measure he had neither been consulted, nor had any delay been granted at his ambassador's request. To these causes of alienation, Pius added another, which might have been attended with the most serious consequences, by determining a dispute for precedence between the Spanish and French ambassadors at Rome, in favour of the latter. To decide this point, which was of so delicate a nature, at so critical a juncture, the pontiff was induced, partly by the hopes of prevailing on the court of France to receive the decrees of the council, and partly by his dread that if the young king were not gratified in this matter, his counsellors would advise him to break off all connection with Rome, and to commit the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the kingdom to a patriarch of his own election.

Dispute of precedence between the ambassadors of France and Spain,

decided in favour of France.

PIUS ordered his [n]uncio to explain these motives to the catholic king, and spared [no] pains to convince him of the necessity of the step which he had taken: and his endeavours were not altogether ineffectual. Philip did not, indeed, for some time, send any ambassador to Rome in the place of Don Louis de Requesens, who left it when the point of precedence was decided; but being determined, if possible, to live on amicable terms with the Holy See, he resolved to stifle his resentment. Nor did he suffer it to influence his conduct with regard to the decrees of the council; which, although they were not entirely conformable to his wishes, yet would contribute, he believed, in some measure, to prevent the progress of heresy; and therefore he issued orders, without hesitating, to have them received and obeyed throughout all his dominions [g]. July.

[g] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. 16. Pallavicini, lib. xxiv. cap. 12.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK VI.

BOOK VI. 1565. Hostile intentions of the Sultan against Philip and the knights of Malta.

PHILIP's attention was, soon after this, called to objects of a very different nature from those by which, during the sitting of the Council, it had been engrossed. The success of his enterprise against Pennon de Velez, having given great uneasiness to all the piratical states, they had endeavoured to engage the Sultan to undertake the recovery of that fort; and had intreated him to employ such a fleet and army as might be sufficient to expel the Spaniards from the coast of Africa. Solyman was at the same time earnestly solicited by great numbers of his subjects, to take vengeance on the knights of Malta, who, besides co-operating with the Spaniards in all their African expeditions, still continued to exercise their wonted hostilities against the Turks at sea, and had of late made innumerable captures.

THIS

BOOK VI. 1565.

THIS prince was of himself as much incensed both against the former and the latter of these his enemies as any of his subjects could desire; and notwithstanding his great age, he was inflamed as much as ever with the ambition of extending his dominions. He therefore lent a willing ear to the solicitations which he now received; and having suspended all his other pursuits, he resolved to turn his whole attention against the Maltese and Spaniards. But he hesitated whether he should begin his operations with invading Malta, or the dominions of the catholic king; and to assist him in deciding this point, he held a council of his most experienced commanders.

MAHOMET, the oldest and wisest of all his Bashas, was of opinion, that it would be highly inexpedient to begin with invading Malta; in subduing which, he said, the Sultan would find infinitely greater difficulty than he had encountered formerly in the conquest of Rhodes. For the latter of these islands, he observed, lay at so great a distance from Europe, as had made it almost impossible for the christians to send assistance to the besieged; and was besides so large and fertile as to furnish subsistence to the Turkish troops. Whereas the former was small and barren; so far from the Porte, and so near to Sicily and Italy, that the knights could easily receive from thence perpetual succours and supplies. The king of Spain was deeply concerned in their preservation; and he, and other Christian princes, would, from religion as well as interest, think themselves bound to support an order of men whom they had long regarded as the champions of their faith. The knights would defend their island with the utmost obstinacy. And even although the Sultan should at last get possession of it, yet a new crusade would be formed by the christians for its recovery, and the Turkish fleet would be destroyed in the

the harbours, before it could be put into a posture of defence. Sicily, he thought, would be a much easier and more certain conquest. The reduction of that island would conduce more to the Sultan's glory, as well as to the interest of his empire; and it would be quickly followed by the reduction of the knights of Malta, who could not subsist a single season without those continual supplies of provision which that more fertile region afforded them.

Solyman resolves to begin with the siege of Malta.

A PRINCE of so great penetration as Solyman could not be insensible of the weight of these considerations; but having been long accustomed to triumph over much more formidable enemies than the knights of Malta, and having formerly expelled the knights themselves from Asia, when their power was more considerable than at present, he believed that they could not long resist his victorious arms. In this confidence of success he was confirmed by most of the Bashas, who chose rather to flatter his inclinations at the expence of his interest, than to run the risque of incurring his displeasure. His resentment against the knights was greatly heightened at this time by the capture of a rich galleon belonging to some of his greatest favourites in the Seraglio. These persons exerted all their influence to procure a speedy vengeance, and contributed to determine the Sultan to open the campaign with the siege of Malta; after the conquest of which he resolved to turn his arms against the king of Spain.

His preparations.

HAVING thus fixed his purpose, he issued orders for equipping all the ships in his empire with the utmost expedition; sent a great number of troops to the sea-ports in the Morea, where he intended they should embark; and desired Hascem and Dragut, his viceroys in Algiers and Tripoli, to hold their corsairs ready

BOOK VI. 1565.

to join his fleet when it should arrive at Malta. He gave the command of the fleet to Piali, and that of the land forces to Mustapha, an experienced general, at the age of sixty-five, who had acquired his esteem and confidence by several victories which he had obtained in Asia. To these men he recommended strongly the acting in concert with each other; and required them to consult in every matter of importance with Dragut, whom he regarded as the ablest naval officer in his dominions.

La Valette the grand-master of Malta.

THE news of his preparations soon reached the several christian powers on the coasts of the Mediterranean. But they were for some time in doubt where the storm which was gathering would burst. At length John de la Valette Parisot, the grand-master of Malta, received certain information of Solyman's design, from spies whom he employed at Constantinople. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the king of Spain, the pope, and most of the other christian princes; and represented to them the necessity of granting their assistance at the present crisis, if they would save from ruin an order of men whose bravery had for ages past been continually exerted in the protection of christians of every nation in Europe, against the implacable enemy of the christian name.

Philip's resolution to support the knights.

BUT although the subjects of almost every christian state had, on numberless occasions, been supported by their generosity, and protected, or rescued from slavery, by their intrepid valour, yet only such princes thought it incumbent on them to interest themselves in their behalf, whose territories lay exposed to immediate danger. Of these no one had so much ground to dread the consequences of suffering the knights to be overwhelmed, as the king of Spain. For besides that his dominions were more exposed, he

was

was much more obnoxious to the Sultan, than any other Christian monarch. He had repeatedly committed hostilities against the African corsairs, whom Solyman had taken under his protection; and he could not call in question the intelligence transmitted to him by the grand-master, that as the Turkish armament was to be sent first against the knights, it would be employed next against himself. Philip had ever looked on Malta as his principal bulwark against the invasions of the Turks; and he was sensible that he had now more reason than ever to consider it in that view. Prompted by these motives, he resolved to exert himself with vigour in its defence; and having writ to his ministers and allies in Italy, to form an army of twenty thousand men, which should be ready to embark on the shortest notice, he assembled a numerous fleet at Messina, and sent instructions to Don Garcia de Toledo, the viceroy of Sicily, to watch over the preservation of Malta with the same solicitude as if Sicily itself were to be attacked.

The grand-master's activity and vigilance.

THE zeal with which Philip espoused the cause of the knights, delivered them from their anxiety with regard to the final issue of the war, but did not prevent the grand-master from exerting his activity and vigilance in preparing for a vigorous defence. Besides sending a general summons to the knights dispersed throughout the several provinces in Europe, to repair instantly to Malta; he distributed all the inhabitants of the island capable of bearing arms into companies, and appointed the knights to train them in the several branches of military discipline. He caused two thousand troops to be levied by his agents in Italy, and kept all the ships belonging to the order, perpetually employed in importing arms, military stores, and provisions.

BOOK VI. 1565.

In obedience to his ſummons, all the knights haſtened to his aſſiſtance, except ſuch as were prevented by age or infirmities; and theſe ſupplied their perſonal ſervices, by ſending him all the money which they could raiſe out of the effects belonging to their convents. Before the arrival of the enemy, he reviewed his forces, and found that they amounted to ſeven hundred knights and eight thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, including two companies of Spaniards which were ſent to him from Sicily. Theſe troops, after a ſolemn religious proceſſion, and partaking of the holy ſacrament, he diſtributed among the knights; and aſſigned to all of them their proper ſtations. In the midſt of the multiplicity of affairs which demanded his attention, there was nothing omitted which human prudence could provide. He was continually employed either in viſiting the poſts, or examining the ſtores, or ſtrengthening the fortifications, or inſtructing the officers as to the conduct proper to be obſerved in caſe of an attack. The wiſdom diſplayed in his plan of defence, inſpired his troops with confidence; and his tranquillity and fortitude communicated to them an elevation of mind, which rendered them ſuperior to every calamity that could befal them.

Arrival of the Turks at Malta under Moſtapha and Piali.

At length the Turkiſh fleet having left Conſtantinople in the end of March, arrived in ſight of Malta about the middle of May; conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, and having on board, beſides a great number of chriſtian ſlaves, deſigned to ſerve as pioneers, above forty thouſand land forces, compoſed chiefly of Janiſſaries and Spahis, the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. This formidable army landed at ſome diſtance from Il Borgo [a], and ſoon afterwards ſpread themſelves over the

[a] The town where the ſtrength of the order was concentred.

country;

country; ſetting fire to the villages, putting the peaſants to the ſword, and carrying off ſuch of the cattle, as, notwithſtanding the orders of the grand-maſter, had not been ſecured within the forts and towns.

WHILE the Turks were thus employed, La Valette ſent out De Copier, marſhal of the order, with two hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, to watch their motions. De Copier, an officer of great experience, executed his commiſſion with ſo much prudence and vigour, that by falling unexpectedly on detached parties, he cut off one thouſand five hundred of the Turks, with the loſs of only about eighty men. But La Valette intended, by permitting theſe ſkirmiſhes, only to make trial of his troops, and to accuſtom them to the looks and ſhouts of the enemy. He conſidered that even ſo ſmall a loſs as was occaſioned by theſe rencounters, was more than he could eaſily ſupport. He therefore recalled De Copier, and ſent the ſoldiers and knights under his command to their reſpective poſts.

The ſiege of St. Elmo.

THE Turkiſh general held a council of war as ſoon as all his troops were landed, to aſſiſt him in reſolving where he ſhould begin his attack. Piali, agreeably to what he underſtood to have been the Sultan's inſtructions, was of opinion that they ought not to enter upon action till Dragut ſhould arrive. But Muſtapha having received information of the king of Spain's preparations, thought that ſomething muſt be done inſtantly for the ſecurity of the fleet; which lay at preſent in a creek where it was expoſed to the violence of the eaſt wind, and might be attacked with great advantage by the Spaniards. On this account he was of opinion, that they ſhould immediately lay ſiege to a fort called St. Elmo, which ſtood on a neck of land near Il Borgo, having the principal harbour on one ſide of it, and on the other, ano-

ther

BOOK VI. 1565.

ther harbour large enough to contain the whole fleet in safety. This proposal was approved by a majority of the council, and Mustapha proceeded without delay to carry it into execution. He vainly expected that he would be able to reduce the fort in a few days. But besides the valour with which it was defended, there were two circumstances which greatly augmented the difficulty of his enterprise: one of these was that the garrison could easily receive supplies from the town, across the great harbour, which was secured by two forts, called St. Angelo and St. Michael, or La Sangle; and the other, that his approaches to the fort were retarded by the nature of the road leading to it, which was either a bare rock, or the rock thinly covered with a stony soil. This last inconvenience he remedied, by substituting in the place of trenches, a parapet formed of planks and beams covered on the side towards the fort with earth, which they brought from a distance, and mixed with straw and rushes. By this invention he was enabled to open a battery mounted with his largest cannon, on the sixth or seventh day after his arrival on the island; and he quickly convinced the governor, the bailiff of Negropont, that it would be impossible for him to hold out long. Of this the governor gave immediate information to the grand-master, and made choice of a knight of the name of La Cerda for his messenger. This man, greatly disturbed by fear, exaggerated the danger which he had been sent to represent, and had the imprudence to tell the grand-master, in the presence of many of the knights, that he must not expect that the place would sustain the siege above a week longer. "And what loss," said La Valette, "have you received that makes you so soon despair?" "The fort," replied La Cerda, "is to be considered as a sick person, greatly reduced, who must receive continual remedies and supplies." "I myself,"

Difficulties attending the siege.

St. Elmo thought untenable by the garrison.

myself," answered the grand-master with great indignation, "will be the physician; and will bring others along with me, who, if they cannot cure you of your fear, will at least preserve the fort from falling into the hands of the infidels."

The Grand-master's reasons for defending it to the last.

La Valette did not expect that a place which was neither strong, nor large enough to admit a numerous garrison, could be defended long, against so great a force as was employed to reduce it; but he thought it necessary that the siege of this fort should be prolonged as much as possible, in order to give the viceroy of Sicily time to come to his relief. With this view he resolved to throw himself into St. Elmo with a select body of troops; and he was preparing to set out when the whole body of knights remonstrated with such earnest importunity against his leaving the town, that he at last consented to suffer the reinforcement which he had prepared, to be conducted to the fort by a knight called De Medran, upon whose conduct and intrepidity he could rely with the most assured confidence.

Progress of the siege.

Not long after De Medran's arrival in the fort, the garrison made a vigorous sally, in which they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and put a number of them to the sword. But the rest soon recovered from their surprise, and having returned to the charge, they compelled the christians to retire. In this rencounter, the vigorous efforts of the Janissaries were favoured by the wind, which blew the smoke of the guns upon the fort, and covered the besieged with a thick cloud, through which it was impossible to discern the operations of the enemy. This incident the Turks had the presence of mind to improve to great advantage. They seized, unperceived, upon the counterscarp, made a lodgment there with beams, woolsacks,

BOOK VI.
1565.

ſacks, and gabions; and raiſed a battery upon it with incredible expedition. After the ſmoke was diſperſed, the beſieged beheld what had been done with much aſtoniſhment; and they were the more diſquieted as the fortification which the Turks had raiſed upon the counterſcarp, overtoped a ravelin which lay near it, in which the beſieged could no longer appear with ſafety. They reſolved however to defend this ravelin as long as poſſible, whatever it ſhould coſt them.

Arrival of Dragut.

IN the mean time Dragut and another noted corſair called Uluchiali arrived with twenty gallies, having, beſides ſlaves and ſeamen, two thouſand five hundred troops on board. This reinforcement and the preſence of Dragut added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. This gallant corſair expoſed himſelf on all occaſions with the utmoſt intrepidity; ſpent whole days in the trenches; and as, beſides his other extraordinary talents, he was particularly ſkilful in the management of artillery, he cauſed ſome new batteries to be raiſed in more advantageous ſituations than had hitherto been made choice of; and kept up a continual fire both upon the ravelin above mentioned, and a cavalier that covered the fort, and was one of its principal defences.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

THIS cavalier ſoon became the only defence which could prevent the beſiegers from coming up to the very foot of the walls. Some Turkiſh engineers having approached the ravelin at daybreak, to examine the effects of their artillery, they obſerved a gun-port ſo low, that one of them, when mounted on the ſhoulders of another, looked into it, and ſaw the chriſtian ſoldiers lying on the ground aſleep. Of this they gave immediate information to the troops; who, advancing as quickly and ſilently as poſſible, and clapping ladders to the gun-hole, got up into the ravelin, and cut moſt of the chriſtians to pieces.

BETWEEN

BETWEEN this ravelin and the cavalier lay the ditch, over which the besieged had thrown a temporary bridge of planks, leading up to the cavalier. The Turks perceiving this, leapt instantly upon the bridge, and attempted to make themselves masters of the cavalier, as they had already done of the ravelin. But the garrison was now alarmed; the bravest of the knights hastened from different quarters to the post of danger; and, after an obstinate engagement, they compelled the Turks to retire into the ravelin. There observing another way of reaching the cavalier, by a path from the bottom of the ditch, they threw themselves down without dread or hesitation; and having ascended by this path to the other side, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever. The combat lasted from sun-rise till noon, when the invincible bravery of the garrison proved at last victorious. About twenty knights and a hundred soldiers were killed, and near three thousand of the enemy.

As the ravelin was open on the side towards the fort, the besieged pointed some cannon against it, and made great havoc among the infidels. But Mustapha, sensible of the value of the acquisition which he had made, poured in fresh soldiers without number; and the pioneers coming forward with wool-sacks, planks, and gabions, put the troops at length in safety, and made a lodgment in the ravelin, of which the garrison were never able to dispossess them.

THE grand-master's concern on account of this disaster was greatly augmented, by considering that it could not have happened so soon, without some negligence on the part of the garrison. He sent them however an immediate reinforcement; and both the

BOOK VI.

1565.

The distress of the garrison.

siege and the defence were carried on with the same vigour as before.

But the situation of the besieged was now become much more dangerous than formerly. The Turks applied themselves with unremitting diligence to heighten the ravelin till it overtopt the wall of the fort; and after this, the garrison could no longer appear upon the parapet with safety. Many were killed by the enemy's artillery. Several breaches were made in different parts of the wall, and the hearts of the bravest knights began to fail within them. They apprehended, that ere long the Turkish general would attempt to take the fort by storm, and they dreaded that it would be impossible for so small a number to resist so numerous an enemy.

They apply for liberty to quit the fort.

They agreed therefore, though with much reluctance, to apply to the grand-master for liberty to quit the fort; and they made choice of the chevalier de Medran for their messenger. De Medran represented that the fort was in reality no longer tenable, and that to continue in it, though only a few days, would infallibly occasion the utter destruction of the garrison. That nothing could be of greater advantage to the Turks than sending the forces of the Order to a place where there were no fortifications to defend them; that by doing so, the troops necessary for the defence of the other fortresses would soon be consumed, and these fortresses become an easy prey to the enemy. But he concluded with saying, that, although this was the opinion of all the garrison, he was commissioned to declare to the grand-master, that whatever resolution he should form, they were determined to yield an implicit obedience to his authority.

Refused by the grand-master.

Most of the knights in council thought that this request of the garrison ought to be immediately granted. But la Valette was

BOOK VI. 1565.

was of a contrary opinion. The fort, he acknowledged, would not probably hold out much longer; and he lamented the fate of those gallant knights and soldiers who were stationed in so perilous a situation. But there were cases, he said, in which it was necessary to sacrifice some of the members for the preservation of the body; and such he knew to be the present critical state of their affairs. For he was credibly informed that the Sicilian viceroy had declared, that if the fort of St. Elmo were lost, (as the consequence would be, that he could not attack the Turks with the same advantage as at present) he would not expose his fleet to the risk of a defeat for the sake of the rest of the island. And on this account la Valette subjoined, that the preservation of the Order depended almost entirely on the length of the present siege. This he represented to the chevalier de Medran, and sent him back with instructions to remind the knights of the vow which they took at their entrance into the Order, of sacrificing their lives for its defence. He likewise bade him assure them, in his name, that he would not fail to send them such reinforcements as they should stand in need of, and was determined, as soon as it should be necessary, to come himself to their assistance, with a fixed, unalterable purpose to lay down his life, sooner than deliver the fort into the hands of the Infidels.

THIS answer had the desired effect on several of the knights, and particularly on those whose principles of honour and attachment to the Order were confirmed by years. But the greater part of them were much dissatisfied. They thought the Grand Master's treatment of them harsh and cruel, and wrote him a letter, subscribed by fifty-three, in which, after repeating their former request, they informed him, that if he did not, on the next night, send boats

BOOK VI. 1565.

boats to carry them to the town, they were determined to sally out into the Turkish camp, where they might fall honourably by the sword, instead of suffering such an ignominious death as they had reason to expect, if the fort were taken by storm.

To this letter la Valette replied, "That they were much mistaken, if they expected to satisfy their honour by throwing away their lives; since it was no less their duty to submit to his authority, than to sacrifice their lives in defence of the Order: that the preservation of the whole depended on their present obedience to his commands: that no aid was to be expected from Spain, if the fort were given up; and that, if he should yield to their request, and bring them to the town, the town itself would then be immediately invested, and they, as well as the rest, soon afterwards reduced to a situation more desperate than that from which they were so solicitous to escape, by deserting an important station which they had undertaken to defend." Besides this letter, he sent three commissioners to examine the state of the fortifications; intending by this measure either to gain time, or to prevent the garrison from sinking into despair.

These commissioners differed widely in the accounts which they delivered at their return. Two of them thought it impossible to defend the fort much longer. But the third, named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, descended from the famous Albanian hero, Scanderbeg, whether from ignorance, or a consciousness of greater resources in his native courage than the other two possessed, maintained that the garrison was far from being reduced to the last extremity; and to give proof how firmly he was persuaded of the truth of what he said, he offered to enter the fort himself, and to undertake the defence of it with such troops as should be willing to accompany him.

The grand-master, strongly impressed with a sense of the necessity of protracting the siege, immediately accepted this offer, and bestowed the highest encomiums on Castriot's zeal and resolution. Nor did Castriot find any difficulty in persuading a sufficient number to attend him, who were no less zealous and resolute than himself. The soldiers crowded to his standard, and were emulous to have their names inrolled for that dangerous service in which he had engaged.

When la Valette saw the spirit by which these men were animated, and had no longer any doubt of being able, by their means, to prolong the siege of the fort, he sent a letter to the knights, acquainting them, that he was now willing to give them their discharge; and would immediately send another garrison, into whose hands, he desired, they should be ready to deliver up the fort, and come themselves to the town in the boats in which their successors were to be transported. "You, my brethren," continued he, "may be in greater safety here than in your present situation; and I shall then feel less anxiety for the preservation of the fort, although I think it of so great importance, that on the preservation of it, that of our Order seems entirely to depend."

The contents and style of this letter affected the knights in the most sensible manner, and roused within them that delicate sense of honour, by which the Order had been so long and so eminently distinguished. They trembled at the thoughts of the reception which they were about to meet with from the grand-master and the other knights. "Should this new garrison," said they to each other, "which is appointed to succeed us, be fortunate enough to hold out till the Spaniards arrive, in what corner of the earth shall we conceal our infamy?" They resolved

BOOK VI. 1565.

without hesitation to remain in the fort till every man should perish, rather than either deliver it to the new garrison, or abandon it to the enemy. And they went in a body to the governor, and intreated him to inform the grand-master of their repentance, and to join with them in praying that they might be suffered to wipe out the remembrance of their fault by their future conduct.

The governor readily complied; and, in order to prevent the new garrison from setting out in the night, he dispatched his letter by a noted swimmer before it was dark. La Valette secretly rejoiced at this application; but sent word to the governor, that he must always prefer even a body of new troops to the most experienced warriors, who had refused to submit to the controul of military discipline. When this answer was reported to the knights, they were overwhelmed with anguish, and had recourse to the most submissive intreaties of forgiveness. The grand-master suffered himself at last to be overcome; and henceforth the garrison, dismissing all thoughts of their own safety, were intent on nothing but how to prolong the defence.

The grand-master sent them every night fresh troops, to supply the place of the killed and wounded; and kept them well furnished with provisions, ammunition, and fire-works. Of these last he had invented a particular kind, which consisted of hoops of wood, covered with wool, and steeped in boiling oil, and other inflammable liquors, mixed with nitre and gunpowder. To these machines they set fire, and threw them flaming in the midst of the enemy, when they were crowded together at an assault. It happened often that two or three of the Turks were hooked together and scorched to death; and the utmost confusion was produced wherever they were thrown.

1565. The invincible bravery of the garrison.

THE besieged stood much in need of this, and every other instrument of mischief, that could be devised for their defence. In spite of the most vigorous opposition, the Turks had cast a bridge over the ditch, and begun to sap and undermine the wall. From the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a single day past without some rencounter; and Mustapha had frequently attempted to scale the wall of the fort, but had been as often repulsed with the loss of some of the bravest of his troops.

ASHAMED at having been detained so long before a place of such inconsiderable strength, he resolved to make one great decisive effort, and to bring to the assault as many of his forces as the situation of the place would permit him to employ. He had already made several breaches; but in order to secure the success of the assault which he now intended, he kept his batteries playing all the 15th without intermission, till the wall on that side where he designed his attack was almost level with the rock. On the 16th the fleet was drawn up before sun-rise as near the fort as the depth of the water would allow; four thousand musketeers and archers were stationed in the trenches; and the rest of the troops, upon a signal given, advanced to the breach. The garrison was prepared to receive them. The breach was lined with several ranks of soldiers, having the knights interspersed among them at certain distances. The Turks attempted often to break through this determined band, and to overpower them with their numbers. But their numbers served only to augment the loss which they sustained. Every shot from the fort did execution. The artillery made dreadful havoc among them, and the burning hoops were employed with astonishing success. The novelty of these machines, and the shrieks of those who were caught in them, added greatly to the terror which they inspired, and made

it

BOOK VI. 1565.

it impoſſible for the Turkiſh officers to keep their men firm and ſteady in purſuing the advantages which, had they preſerved their ranks, their numbers muſt have infallibly acquired.

At length Muſtapha, after having continued the aſſault for more than ſix hours, without gaining a ſingle inch of ground on the beſieged, gave orders for ſounding a retreat.

In this attack the garriſon loſt about twenty knights and three hundred ſoldiers; but this loſs was immediately ſupplied by a reinforcement from the town: and Muſtapha was at laſt convinced, that, unleſs the communication between the fort and the town were cut off, it would be impoſſible to bring the ſiege of the former to a period, while any troops remained in any other part of the iſland. By the advice of Dragut he reſolved to extend his trenches and batteries, on the ſide next to the town, till they ſhould reach to that part of the ſea, or great harbour, where thoſe ſupplies were landed which the Grand Maſter daily ſent to the garriſon. This undertaking, he knew, muſt be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe all the ſpace between his entrenchments and the point to which it was neceſſary to extend them, lay expoſed to the artillery both of Fort St. Elmo and St. Angelo. In viewing the ground, a Sangiac, in whom he put confidence, was killed by his ſide; and, which was ſtill a more irreparable loſs, Dragut received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days[b]. This did not however diſcourage Muſtapha from purſuing his deſign. By employing his troops and pioneers at the work day and night without intermiſſion, he at length carried it into execution. Then having planted batteries along the ſhore, and filled his trenches with muſketeers, it was impoſſible for any

Dragut killed.

[b] He was wounded in the head by the ſplinters of a ſtone, which was beat to pieces by a cannon-ſhot from Fort St. Angelo.

boat to paſs from the town to the fort, without the moſt imminent danger of either being ſunk or intercepted.

BOOK VI. 1565. The garriſon reduced to the laſt extremity.

AFTER this precaution, he reſumed with freſh vigour his attempt to take the fort by ſtorm. On the twenty-firſt, he made four different aſſaults; all of which the garriſon withſtood, and, in repulſing ſo many thouſand brave and well-diſciplined troops, diſplayed a degree of prowefs and fortitude which almoſt exceeds belief, and is beyond the power of deſcription. But this heroic garriſon was now exceedingly reduced in number; and there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend, that, in one aſſault more, they muſt inevitably be overpowered, unleſs a reinforcement were ſent them from the town. Of their deſperate ſituation they gave intelligence to the grand-maſter, by one who ſwam acroſs the harbour in the night. The boats were inſtantly filled with knights and other ſoldiers, who generouſly reſolved to devote themſelves to certain deſtruction, for the general ſafety, and the preſervation of the fort. They ſet off from the town with as much alacrity as if they had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victory; but they found the Turks every where ſo much upon their guard, and the lines ſo ſtrongly defended, that, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to land, they were at laſt obliged to return, depreſſed with ſorrow for the fate of their brave companions.

THE garriſon now deſpairing of relief, gave themſelves up for loſt; but inſtead of either capitulating or attempting to eſcape, they prepared for death, and paſſed the night in prayer, and in receiving the ſacrament; after which, they embraced one another tenderly, and then repaired to their reſpective poſts; while ſuch of the wounded as had been diſabled from walking, were, at their

BOOK VI. 1565.

their own earnest desire, carried to the side of the breach, where they waited, without dismay, for the approach of the Turkish army.

St. Elmo taken by assault.

EARLY in the morning of the twenty-third of July, the Turks advanced to the assault, with loud shouts, as to certain victory, which they believed so small a handful of men as now remained in the fort would not dare to dispute with them. In this expectation they were disappointed. The garrison being resolved on death, and despising danger, were more than men, and exerted a degree of prowess and valour that filled their enemies with amazement. The combat lasted upwards of four hours, till not only every knight, but every soldier had fallen, except two or three who saved themselves by swimming. The Turkish colours were then planted on the ramparts; and the fleet entered the harbour which the fort commanded in a kind of triumph. When Mustapha took a view of the fort, and examined its size and fortifications, he could not refrain from saying, "What will not the father cost us, (meaning the town) when the son, who is so small, has cost so many thousands [e] of our bravest troops." But this reflection, far from exciting his admiration of that heroic fortitude which he had found so difficult to overcome, served only to inspire him with a brutal fury. He ordered all such of the garrison as were found lying on the breach alive to be ript open, and their hearts torn out. And as an insult on the knights and their religion, he caused their dead bodies to be searched for, and large gashes to be made in them, in the form of a cross, after which he tied them on planks, and threw them into the sea, to be carried by the wind and tide to the town, or fort St. Angelo.

[e] Eight thousand.

THE

The grand-mafter was at firft melted into tears at this fhocking fpectacle; but his grief was foon converted into indignation and revenge; and thefe paffions betrayed him into an action unworthy of the exalted character which he bore. In order to teach the Bafha, as he pretended, to make war with lefs barbarity, he caufed all the Turks whom he had taken prifoners to be maffacred; and then putting their heads into his largeft cannon, he fhot them into the Turkifh camp.

In the fiege which has been related, the Order loft about one thoufand five hundred men, including one hundred and thirty of the braveft knights. The grand-mafter was deeply affected at fo great a lofs; but he wifely diffembled his concern, and wearing ftill the fame magnanimous and intrepid afpect as before, he infpired all the troops that remained, with a fixt, unalterable refolution, to defend the town and the other forts to the laft extremity.

Mustapha vainly imagined, that being intimidated by the fate of their companions, they would be now inclined to liften to terms of capitulation; and in this hope he fent an officer with a white flag to one of the gates, attended by a chriftian flave, defigned to ferve for his interpreter. The Turk was not allowed to enter within the town; but the chriftian was admitted, and was led through feveral ranks of foldiers under arms by an officer, who, after fhewing him all the fortifications of the place, defired him to take particular notice of the depth and breadth of the ditch, and faid to him, "See there, the only fpot we can afford your general; and there we hope foon to bury him and all his Janiffaries."

This

BOOK VI.

1565. Siege of Il Borgo and fort St. Michael.

THIS insulting speech being reported by the slave, excited in the fiery mind of the Basha the highest degree of wrath and indignation, and made him resolve to exert himself to the utmost in the prosecution of the siege. His troops, though greatly diminished, were still sufficient to invest at once both the town and the fort of St. Michael [d]. He kept a constant fire on both; but he intended first to apply to the reduction of the latter, which he proposed to attack both by land and water, at the extremity of the peninsula [e] on which it stands. In order to accomplish this design, it was necessary he should have some shipping introduced into the harbour, for transporting his forces. But the mouth of the harbour having been rendered inaccessible by a great iron chain, and the cannon of St. Angelo, his design must have been relinquished, if Piali had not suggested an expedient against which the grand-master had not provided. This was to make the christian slaves and the crews of the ships draw a number of boats, by the strength of their arms, over the neck of land on which stood fort St. Elmo. Of this proposal, which Mustapha immediately adopted, information was carried to the grand-master by a Turkish officer, who, being by birth a Greek, was touched suddenly with remorse, and deserted to the christians. In consequence of this intelligence, La Valette set a great number of hands to work in framing a stacado along that part of the promontory where the Turks intended their attack; and at another part, where the depth of the water or the hardness of the bottom would not admit of the stacado, he caused strong intrenchments

[d] They are situated on two promontories that run out into the great harbour, and are separated from each other by a channel, where the gallies belonging to the Order lay, and the mouth of which was strongly secured on each side by batteries.

[e] Called The Spur.

incessantly

to be made upon the beach. Mustapha in the mean time fired incessantly upon the fort, while the slaves and crews were employed in transporting the boats over land into the harbour. At length the Basha, judging that the number of boats which he had transported would be sufficient, and that the breaches which his artillery had made were practicable, resolved without further delay to make an attack both by sea and land. He was the the more confident of success, as, since the taking of St. Elmo, he had received a considerable reinforcement, by the arrival of Hascem, son of Barbarossa, with two thousand five hundred select soldiers, commonly called the Bravoes of Algiers. Hascem, who possessed a considerable share of his father's fire, and was ambitious to distinguish himself in the Sultan's service, begged of Mustapha to intrust him with the assault of fort St. Michael; and vaunted, with his natural arrogance, that he would soon make himself master of it sword in hand. The Basha, whether from an opinion of his valour, or an intention to make him learn at his own expence the folly of his presumption, readily complied with his request; and having added six thousand men to his Algerines, he promised to support him with the rest of his army.

Arrival of Hascem son of Barbarossa.

HASCEM divided his forces with Candelissa, an old corsair, his lieutenant; to whom he committed the attack by sea, whilst he reserved that on the land side to himself.

CANDELISSA having put his troops on board the boats, set out with drums beating, and hautboys and other musical instruments playing, preceded by a boat filled with Mahometan priests, some of whom were employed in offering prayers to Heaven for his success, or in singing hymns; while others had books in their hands out of which they read imprecations against the christians. Candelissa attempted first to break down the stacado which had been

Candelissa repulsed with great slaughter.

BOOK VI. 1565.

been formed to obstruct his landing; but finding it much stronger than he expected, and that, while he was employed in demolishing it, his troops must suffer greatly from the enemy's fire, he thought it would be easier to make a descent on that part of the shore which the grand-master had strengthened with intrenchments. At this important post, the christian troops were commanded by an ancient knight of the name of Guimeran. This experienced officer reserved his fire till the Turks had advanced within a little distance of the shore, when by a single discharge he killed about four hundred men. This did not prevent the rest from approaching. Candelissa pushed forwards while the christians were loading their cannon, and landed at the head of his Algerines. But Guimeran having reserved some cannon charged with grape shot, did dreadful execution among them after they had landed, and many of them began to fly to their boats; which Candelissa observing, he commanded the boats to be put off to a little distance from the shore. His troops, perceiving then that they must either die or conquer, took courage from despair, and advanced boldly to the intrenchment, with ladders for scaling it in one hand, and their sabres in the other. The combatants on both sides displayed the most intrepid valour. Great numbers fell, and the ditch was choaked with blood, and with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Turks at last, after an engagement of five hours, reached the top of the intrenchment, and there planted their ensigns. The knights, stung with shame on account of their retreat, returned with redoubled ardour. But they would probably have been overpowered by the superior number of the enemy, had not the grand-master sent them a seasonable reinforcement, under the admiral de Giou, and the chevalier de Quiney; who fell upon the Algerines and Turks

BOOK VI. 1565.

with a degree of fury that struck terror into Candelissa himself, who was noted for his intrepidity. Having ordered the boats to be brought nearer the shore, he was among the first who fled. His bravoes fought desperately for some time after he had left them; but were at length thrown down from the intrenchments, and compelled to fly to their boats with the utmost precipitation. The christians pursued them, and the batteries continued firing on them without intermission. Many of the boats were sunk; the water was covered with dead bodies, mangled limbs, shields and helmets. Of the four thousand who had been sent on this enterprize, scarcely five hundred remained, and many of these were dangerously wounded.

Hascem and

HASCEM was not more fortunate in his assault by land, than Candelissa was by sea. After having been repulsed at one breach with great slaughter, he rallied his troops, and led them on to another, where he fought long and desperately, till most of the bravoes having fallen by his side, he was obliged, with much reluctance and sorrow, to sound a retreat.

Mustapha repulsed.

MUSTAPHA, not unmindful of his promise to support him, no sooner perceived him beginning to retire, than he ordered the Janissaries, whom he kept under arms, to advance. The garrison had maintained an engagement with Hascem for five hours, in the middle of the day, and in the hottest season of the year; yet, as if they had not been subject to the wants and weaknesses of humanity, they advanced beyond the breach to meet the Janissaries, and fought apparently with as much vigour and fortitude as before. By the power of superior numbers, they were compelled to fall back within the breach. But there they made the most desperate resistance;

BOOK VI. 1565.

resistance; and, being reinforced by De Giou and De Quiney, with the troops which had triumphed over Candelissa, they at last repulsed the Janissaries with dreadful slaughter; after having lost more than forty knights, and two hundred of the bravest of the common men.

The siege of Il Borgo and St. Michael carried on at the same time.

MUSTAPHA, enraged by this invincible obstinacy which the christians displayed in their defence, and dreading that the Spanish succours, which had been already delayed much longer than he expected, might soon arrive, resolved now to employ his whole force at once, and while he himself prosecuted the siege of fort St. Michael with one half of his troops, to employ the other, under Piali, against the town. More batteries were raised. The trenches were advanced still nearer than before. Bridges of sail-yards and masts were thrown over the ditches. Mines, notwithstanding the hard and rocky soil, were sprung. Assaults were repeated without number; and the two bashas, emulous of one another, and each of them agitated with continual anxiety lest victory should declare first for his competitor, exhibited the most shining proofs of personal courage, and exhausted all the art of war then known in the world. Yet, through the determined bravery of the knights, conducted by the grand-master with consummate prudence and indefatigable vigilance, the Turks were baffled in every attempt, and repulsed with slaughter. Mustapha flattered himself once with the most sanguine hopes of success on his part, from a machine invented by his principal engineer, in the form of a huge cask bound strongly with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, nails, chains, bullets, and such other instruments of death. After setting fire to a train which was fastened to this machine, it was thrown by the force of an engine, upon a ravelin that was the principal defence

BOOK VI. 1565.

of the fort. But the garrifon undifmayed, found means, before it caught fire, to caft it out again into the midft of the affailants. In a moment afterwards it burft with dreadful fury, and filled the Turks with confternation. The knights then fallied out upon them fword in hand, and taking advantage of their confufion, killed many of them, and put the reft to flight.

Succefs of Piali againft Il Borgo.

PIALI had, on fome occafions, ftill more reafon than Muftapha to entertain the hopes of victory, although the town was much ftronger than the fort, and La Valette commanded there in perfon. By his batteries he had demolifhed all the out-works of the place, and had made an immenfe breach in the wall. While his troops were engaged in a furious affault, that engroffed the whole attention of the befieged from morning till night, he employed a great number of pioneers in raifing a cavalier or platform of earth and ftones, clofe by the breach, and fo high as to overlook the parapet. Night, in the mean time, came on, and prevented him from carrying any further this great advantage; but he doubted not that next day he fhould be able to make himfelf mafter of the place.

The wifdom and intrepidity of the grand-mafter.

As foon as he had drawn off his forces, a council of the Order was convened, and moft of the knights were of opinion that the town was no longer tenable; that the fortifications which ftill remained fhould be blown up, and that the garrifon and inhabitants fhould retire into the caftle of St. Angelo. But the grand-mafter received this propofal with horror and indignation. "This would be in effect," faid he, "to deliver the whole ifland into the hands of the infidels. Fort St. Michael, which has been fo gallantly defended, and which is preferved by its communication with the town, would thus be foon reduced to the neceffity of furrendering. There is no room in the caftle of St. Angelo for the inha-

 bitants

BOOK VI. 1565.

bitants and troops; nor, if there were room, is there water in that fort for so great a number." It was then proposed that at least the relics of the saints and the ornaments of the churches should be carried into the castle; and the knights earnestly intreated the grand-master to retire into it himself, assuring him that they would conduct the defence with the utmost vigour and vigilance. "No, my brethren," he replied, "what you propose as to the sacred things would serve only to intimidate the soldiers. We must conceal our apprehensions. It is here we must either die or conquer. And is it possible that I, at the age of seventy-one, can end my life so honourably, as in fighting, together with my friends and brethren, against the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" He then told them what he thought proper to be done, and proceeded instantly to put it in execution. Having called all the soldiers from fort St. Angelo, except a few who were necessary for managing the artillery, he employed *them* and the inhabitants all night, in throwing up intrenchments within the breach; after which he sent out some of the bravest knights, with a select body of troops, to make an attempt on the cavalier. These men stole softly along the foot of the wall till they arrived at the place appointed; when they set up a loud shout, and attacked the guards whom Piali had left there with so much fury, that the Turks, believing the whole garrison had fallen upon them, abandoned their post, and fled precipitately to their camp.

THE cavalier was immediately fortified, a battery of cannon planted on it, and a parapet raised on the side towards the enemy. And thus the breach was rendered impracticable; the town put in greater security than before; and a work, which had been devised for its destruction, converted into a bulwark for its defence.

THE

BOOK VI. 1565. Ungenerous conduct of Philip. Aug. 24.

THE grand-master had now greater confidence than ever of being able to hold out till the Spaniards ſhould come to his relief. In conſequence of the aſſurances given by Philip and the Sicilian viceroy, he had, long before this time, entertained the hopes of their arrival; and had often earneſtly ſolicited the viceroy to haſten his departure from Meſſina. The conduct of this nobleman was long exceedingly myſterious. The patience of the knights was worn out by his delays; and they, and many others, ſuſpected that the real motive of his conduct was the dread of encountering with an admiral of ſo conſiderable reputation as Piali. But it afterwards appeared that the viceroy had acted agreeably to his inſtructions from the court of Spain. For although Philip was, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſincerely intereſted in the preſervation of the knights; and had amuſed them with the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance, yet he ſeems from the firſt to have reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to danger on that account, and to avoid, if poſſible, a general engagement.

A GENEROUS and grateful prince would have acted very differently towards an ally ſo deſerving of his ſupport; and if either generoſity or gratitude had been the leading principle of Philip's conduct, it is probable he would, on this occaſion, have regarded the knights as his own ſubjects; and have thought it no leſs incumbent on him to exert himſelf in their defence, than if they had acknowledged him as their ſovereign.

BUT Philip was affected by their danger only ſo far as it threatened the tranquillity of his own dominions. He had reſolved to interpoſe in their behalf, rather than to ſuffer them to be overpowered; but he appears to have been very little touched with their calamities; and to have intended to leave them to them-

BOOK VI. 1565.

ſelves, as long as there was any proſpect of their being able to make reſiſtance; by doing which he conſidered, that he would not only preſerve his own ſtrength entire, but might afterwards engage with the Turks, when they were exhauſted by the operations of the ſiege.

PHILIP adhered inflexibly to this plan, notwithſtanding the grand-maſter's repeated importunities, much longer than was conſiſtent even with his own ſelfiſh views. For, without a degree of fortitude and proweſs on the part of the garriſon, and a degree of wiſdom, vigilance, and magnanimity, on that of the grand-maſter, infinitely higher than there could be reaſon to expect, it muſt have been impoſſible for ſuch a handful of men to have withſtood, for ſo long a time, ſo great a force, and ſuch mighty efforts as were employed to reduce them. Even the death of the grand-maſter alone, whoſe perſon was expoſed to perpetual danger, would have proved fatal to the knights, long before Philip ſent orders to his viceroy to give them any effectual ſupport; and in this caſe, as his own dominions or his fleet would have been immediately attacked, he would probably have had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the timid, ungenerous counſels which he purſued.

WHATEVER judgment may be formed on this head, the viceroy did not think himſelf at liberty to yield to the repeated applications of the grand maſter, till the operations of the ſiege began to relax, and the Turkiſh forces were reduced from forty-five thouſand to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand; of whom many were worn out with the fatigues which they had undergone, and others rendered unfit for action by a bloody flux, which for ſeveral weeks had raged amongſt them.

In this ſituation of affairs, when it was probable that the knights would, without aſſiſtance, have compelled the Turks to raiſe the ſiege, the viceroy let the grand-maſter know that he had now received ſuch inſtructions from the king, as put it in his power to ſhew his attachment to the Order; that he was not indeed permitted to attack the Turkiſh fleet; but that he would immediately bring him a ſtrong body of troops, whoſe commanders (as he himſelf muſt return to Sicily) were to be entirely ſubject to the grand-maſter's authority, till the enemy ſhould be expelled.

Arrival of 6000 Spaniards.

The viceroy, although ſtill ſuſpected of interpoſing unneceſſary delays, at length fulfilled his promiſe; and on the ſeventh of September landed ſix thouſand men, under Don Alvaro de Sande and Aſcanio della Corna, in that part of the iſland which lay at the greateſt diſtance from the Turks; after which he immediately carried back the fleet to Sicily.

The Turkiſh baſhas had been perſuaded by their ſpies, that the viceroy's intention was to land his troops at the caſtle of St. Angelo; and to prevent this, Piali had lain ſeveral days at anchor before the great port, after having blocked up the entrance into it by a chain of ſail-yards, piles and boats.

The ſiege raiſed, and the departure of the Turks.

In the mean time, intelligence being brought to Muſtapha that the Spaniards were landed, and marching towards him, he was thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation. Senſible that his ſoldiers were much diſheartened by their ill ſucceſs, he imagined that he was about to be attacked by a ſuperior army, conſiſting of the braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops in Spain. Without waiting for information of their number, he forthwith raiſed the ſiege, drew his garriſon out of St. Elmo, and leaving all his heavy cannon behind him, embarked his troops with as much

BOOK VI. 1565.

much precipitation as if the Spaniards with superior forces had been in sight. He had scarcely got on board when a deserter arrived from the Spanish camp, and informed him that with fifteen or sixteen thousand men, he had fled before an army that did not exceed six thousand, having no general at their head, and commanded by officers who were independent of one another. The basha was overwhelmed with shame and vexation by this intelligence, and would have immediately disembarked; but this, he knew, he durst not attempt without consulting Piali, Hascem, and his other principal officers.

While he was deliberating upon it, the grand-master improved to the best advantage the leisure that was afforded him. He employed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as well as the soldiers, in filling up the enemy's trenches, and demolishing their works; and put a garrison without delay into fort St. Elmo; in which the Turks now beheld from their ships the standard of St. John erected where that of Mahomet had lately stood.

This demonstrated to Mustapha how much new labour awaited him in case he should return to the siege; but being enraged against himself on account of the precipitancy of his retreat, and disquieted at the thoughts of the reception which he had reason to expect from Solyman, he wished to atone for his imprudence, and to wipe off the reproach in which it had involved him, by victory or death. Piali, who from his jealousy of the basha's credit with the Sultan, was not sorry for the failure of his enterprise, represented in a council of war convened on this occasion, that as the troops were much dispirited and worn out, it would be exposing them to certain destruction, either to lead them against the

 enemy,

enemy, or to resume the operations of the siege. But a majority of the council were of a different opinion; and it was resolved to land the forces again without delay, and to march directly against the Spaniards.

The Turks again landed.

THE Turkish soldiers complained bitterly of this unexpected resolution, and obeyed the orders to disembark with much reluctance. Their officers were obliged to employ threats with some, and force with others. At length the number intended was put on shore, and Mustapha set out at their head in search of the enemy.

And defeated by the Spaniards.

THE grand-master had not neglected to give early notice of their march to the Spanish commanders, who had intrenched their little army on a steep hill, which the Turks would have found almost inaccessible; and it was the opinion of some of the principal officers, that they should avail themselves of the advantage of their situation, and stand on their defence. But this proposal was rejected with disdain by the bold adventurous De Sandé, and the greatest part of the Spanish officers; and the troops were led out of their encampment, to meet the enemy in the open field. This conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, contributed to increase the dejection of the Turkish soldiers, and to facilitate their defeat. Having been dragged against their inclination to the field of battle; and being attacked by the Spaniards with great fury, both in front and flank, they scarcely fought; but, being struck with a sudden panic, they fled with the utmost precipitation.

MUSTAPHA, confounded and enraged by this pusillanimous behaviour of his troops, was hurried along by the violent tide of the fugitives. He fell twice from his horse, and would have been

BOOK VI. 1565. been taken prisoner, if his officers had not rescued him. The Spaniards pursued briskly till they came to the sea-shore. There Piali had his boats ready to receive the Turks, and a number of shallops filled with musketeers drawn up to favour their escape. Without this precaution, they must all have perished; and even notwithstanding the protection which it afforded them, the number of their killed amounted to two thousand men, while the victors lost only thirteen or fourteen at most.

Conclusion. SUCH, after four months continuance, was the conclusion of the siege of Malta, which will be for ever memorable on account of that extraordinary display of the most generous and heroic valour by which the knights, so few in number, were enabled to baffle the most vigorous effort which could be made to subdue them by the most powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave universal joy to the christian powers; and the name of the grand-master excited every where the highest admiration and applause. Congratulations were sent him from every quarter; and in many States public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his success. The king of Spain, who derived greater advantage than any other from that glorious defence to which La Valette had so highly contributed, sent an ambassador to present him with a sword and dagger of which the hilts were solid gold, adorned with diamonds, as a testimony of his respect; and engaged to pay him annually a sum of money to assist him in repairing his ruined fortifications [d].

[d] Thuanus, lib. xxxviii. Herrera, historia general. lib. vii. Cabrera, lib. vi. Vertot. Hist. des Cheval. de Malthe.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

PHILIP II. King of Spain.

BOOK VII.

BOOK VII.

1565. The affairs of the Netherlands.

PHILIP, being now delivered from his apprehensions of a Turkish invasion, applied with zeal to his favourite objects, the extirpation of heresy, and the enforcing of obedience to the council of Trent. Nor in these points did he meet with much opposition, in any part of his dominions except the Netherlands; where the seeds of discord, which had been sown in the beginning of his reign, were approaching fast towards maturity. The dutchess of Parma had, soon after his departure, experienced what a difficult charge she had undertaken. The regular clergy still continued to complain as loudly as ever of the new erection of bishoprics; and contributed to the utmost of their power to foment the spirit of discontent among the people. No change, they said, could be legally made in the constitution of the church, without the consent of the

BOOK VII. 1565.

States. The new erections were therefore a violation of a fundamental law; which was the more intolerable as the abbots, on whose ruins the bishoprics were raised, were natives of the country, and deeply interested in the public welfare; whereas the bishops would be entirely devoted to the courts of Rome and Spain. But the regent was obliged to pay a greater regard to the orders of the king, than to the complaints or remonstrances of the people. Nor did she yield to the importunities of any of the cities into which it had been resolved that the new bishops should be introduced, except Antwerp; the citizens whereof sent deputies to Madrid, and found means to convince Philip, that this new institution, through the dread with which it would inspire foreigners that the inquisition was about to be established, would prove destructive of their commerce[a].

WHILE the regent was employed in settling the new bishops, she was not unmindful of the king's injunctions with respect to the execution of the edicts. They were executed with the utmost rigour, against persons of all ages and of both sexes, without distinction. And no greater regard was shewn, on many occasions, to the laws of nature and humanity, than to the constitution of the provinces. The regent was not of herself inclined to those cruel measures that were pursued; but she was directed in every thing by Granvelle[b], whose views, she knew, were perfectly conformable to those of the king; and whose judgment, for that reason, she often followed in contradiction to her own.

The nobility disgusted.

IT was seldom that any matters relative to the edicts or the new bishoprics were laid before the council, and when they were brought thither, they were proposed as points already fixed, and

[a] Meteren, lib. ii. p. 37. Bentivoglio. Grotius, &c.

[b] Now Archbishop of Mechlin, and advanced to the dignity of Cardinal.

BOOK VII. 1565.

not as subjects on which there was room to deliberate. The regent formed her resolutions privately, with the assistance of Granvelle, and there was nothing left to the council, but to give their sanction to the measures which had been resolved upon before.

It is not surprising that a conduct so extremely partial should have given umbrage to the other counsellors. The prince of Orange and the counts Egmont and Horn[c] were more particularly offended with it. Their high stations, their merit and services, and the trust which had ever been reposed in them by the late emperor, entitled them to a principal share in the regent's most secret councils; and they were filled with indignation when they saw that, on every occasion, a preference was given to the cardinal. "In this," they said, "consisted the recompence of all their services, to be reduced by the king, to whose person and interest they had ever shewn the most inviolable attachment, under the dominion of an arrogant and haughty ecclesiastic. The dutchess of Parma had the name of Regent, but the power was lodged in the hands of Granvelle. The most important affairs of the state were all determined in private by him, without the consent, or even the knowledge of the other counsellors. Their seats in the council, and their government of the provinces, were only high-sounding, empty names, which gave them the appearance of authority, whilst they did not possess any real power; but were equally subjected with others to the arbitrary will of Granvelle."

While the prince of Orange and the other discontented lords had so much reason to be dissatisfied, it could not be expected that they would be extremely active in executing the orders of the court.

[c] Admiral of the Netherlands.

 Notwithstanding

BOOK VII. 1565.

Notwithſtanding all that had been done to ſuppreſs the new opinions in religion, theſe opinions were diffuſed wider and wider every day throughout the provinces. This Granvelle aſcribed to the negligence of the magiſtrates in executing the edicts. The prince of Orange, on the other hand, and count Egmont, threw the blame of it on him; and ſaid, that by purſuing meaſures to which the people of the Netherlands had never been accuſtomed, he had ſoured their minds, and brought the regent's government into hatred and contempt. Thoſe complaints were often made in the preſence of the regent herſelf; who, being preſſed on the one hand by the poſitive orders of the king, inculcated by Granvelle, and on the other, diſtreſſed by her apprehenſion of the conſequences to be dreaded from ſo much ill-humour and diſcontent, could only give ſoothing anſwers to the complainers, and flatter them with ſome general hopes that the grounds of their complaints would be removed.

Their animoſity againſt cardinal Granvelle.

She was ſtill more embarraſſed, when the prince of Orange propoſed in the council, that, in order to remedy the preſent evils, ſhe ſhould ſummon a convention of the States. It could not be expected that Granvelle would reliſh this propoſal. For he was not ignorant how ill the people ſtood affected to his perſon, and his meaſures of government; nor how much ſuperior the influence of the prince of Orange would be to his, if the States were aſſembled. But he did not neglect the preſent opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the king. When the regent gave Philip information of the propoſal which had been made to her, and deſired to receive his inſtructions on the ſubject, Granvelle took that occaſion to repreſent to him, "That nothing could be more prejudicial to his authority than the aſſembling of the States: a meaſure which ought at all times to be avoided, as it uſually produced

produced an inclination in the people to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown; but which there was never ſo much ground to dread as at preſent, when perſons of all conditions were ſo deeply infected with a ſpirit of ſedition and diſcontent. The abbots would come to the convention, inflamed with indignation on account of the late diminution of their revenues. The lower nobility and the deputies of the towns would be gained over by the prince of Orange, and the other diſcontented lords; and the people, ever fond of innovations, would be much more inclined to regard the opinion of their deputies than that of the regent, or the miniſters of the king."

THIS repreſentation was perfectly agreeable to Philip's views and ſentiments; nor did he heſitate in complying with the counſel which was offered him. He immediately renewed his orders to the regent with reſpect to the rigorous execution of the edicts; and thereby let the prince of Orange and the other nobles ſee that there was nothing farther from his intention than to convene the States, in order to conſider of more gentle expedients for preventing the growth of hereſy [d].

They apply to Philip for his removal.

THE perſecutions, therefore, were carried on as formerly. The compaſſion which all men felt for the unhappy ſufferers, excited a general odium againſt the government. The magiſtrates encountered inſurmountable difficulties in executing the orders of the court; and the number of proteſtants increaſed daily, while the moſt vigorous efforts were made to extirpate them by the regent and her miniſters. Granvelle endeavoured to convince the king, that this was chiefly owing to the remiſſneſs of the governors of the provinces. They were not ignorant of his

[d] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 15.

accuſation;

BOOK VII. 1565.

accufation; and being now incenfed againft him more than ever, they refolved to make him feel the effects of their refentment. Agreeably to this refolution, the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, wrote a letter to the king, in which they laid the blame of all the difturbances in the Netherlands upon the cardinal; who, they reprefented, had affumed the fole direction of affairs, and, by his imperious conduct, had rendered himfelf the object of univerfal hatred. "It was impoffible for them to ferve either the king or the people, whilft a perfon fo exceedingly obnoxious poffeffed fuch unlimited influence. But the government would proceed fmoothly, if Granvelle were removed; and in cafe the king would grant their requeft, there fhould be nothing wanting on their part, either to fupport his authority, or to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, to which they were not lefs fincerely attached than cardinal Granvelle."

Philip's reluctance.

To this letter Philip, after a delay of fome months, made as mild a reply as could juftly have been expected; but he concluded with obferving, "That it was not his practice to difmifs his minifters upon the complaints of their enemies, till he had given them an opportunity of vindicating their conduct. Juftice too required, that, from general accufations, they fhould defcend to mention particular crimes or mifdemeanours; and, if they did not incline to do this in writing, one of them might come to Madrid, where he would be received with every mark of diftinction and refpect."

WITH this anfwer the prince of Orange and the other lords were much diffatisfied; and they had the courage to reply, "That they were greatly difappointed to find fo little regard paid to their

 remonftrance.

remonſtrance. For they had not writ their former letter as cardinal Granvelle's accuſers, but as the king's counſellors; who, by virtue of their office, were bound to inform him of whatever appeared to be of conſequence to the welfare of his dominions. They did not deſire that the cardinal ſhould ſuffer harm; and, in any place except the Netherlands, they ſhould be glad to hear of his proſperity; but his continuance there, they thought, was incompatible with the public peace." They added, "That they did not eſteem the cardinal ſo highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account; and that ſince the king was pleaſed to repoſe ſo little confidence in their opinion, they hoped he would diſpenſe with their further attendance in the council; where, as they could not be preſent without a diminution of their dignity, it was impoſſible for them, while the cardinal retained his influence, to be of the ſmalleſt uſe."

To this ſecond letter, Philip made no other anſwer, but that he would conſider of what they had ſaid, and that in the mean time he expected they would continue to give their aſſiſtance as formerly in the council. 1564.

THEY now ſaw that he had no intention to comply with their requeſt. Still however they obeyed his orders, and at times they went to the council; but there, and every where elſe, they treated the cardinal with ſo much ridicule and contempt, that being at length diſguſted with his ſituation, he applied for liberty to retire. The king conſented, but with great reluctance; and could never forgive the prince of Orange, and the other lords, who had reduced him to this neceſſity *.

Departure of Granvelle.

* Bentivoglio. Grotius.

GRAN-

BOOK VII. 1565.

His measures adopted by Viglius and Barlaimont.

GRANVELLE's departure was not attended with those advantages which his enemies expected to derive from it. They had flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining, after his removal, their just share in the administration; but Viglius[f], and count Barlaimont, two zealous catholics, who had concurred with Granvelle in all his arbitrary measures, were soon received by the regent into the same degree of favour which he had possessed, and were allowed to exercise the same unlimited influence in the government.

Publication of the decrees of the council of Trent.

A LITTLE before this time the council of Trent had published its decrees, and Philip, as mentioned above, had resolved to have them obeyed throughout all his dominions. The disturbances which subsisted in the Low Countries, ought to have deterred him from adding fuel to a flame which already burnt with so much violence. But his bigotry, together with his arbitrary maxims of government, rendered him averse to every mild expedient, and determined him to enforce obedience to the decrees in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain and Italy. When the regent laid his instructions on this head before the council of State, she found the counsellors much divided in their opinions. The prince of Orange maintained, " That the regent could not require the people of the Netherlands to receive the decrees, because several of them were contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. He represented that some catholic princes had thought proper to reject them; and proposed that a remonstrance should be made to the king on the necessity of recalling his instructions." Several other lords were of the same opinion. But Viglius, on the other hand, urged with great earnestness, the necessity of

[f] President of the privy-council, and esteemed the greatest lawyer in the Netherlands.

BOOK VII. 1565.

complying immediately with the king's commands. "By general councils," he ſaid, "the church had in all ages ſecured the purity of its diſcipline and doctrines. No remedies for the diſorders in the Netherlands could be deviſed more likely to prove effectual, than the decrees in queſtion. If they ſhould be found in any reſpect incompatible with the laws or privileges of the Netherlands, the inconveniences dreaded from thence might be prevented, by executing them with prudence and moderation. He ſubjoined, that it was the peculiar glory and happineſs of their ſovereign, that either he did not entertain the ſame erroneous ſentiments, or lie under the ſame diſagreeable neceſſity as thoſe other catholic princes who had rejected the decrees; but held opinions, and could follow meaſures, which, while they were conducive to the welfare of the church, were neceſſary in order to ſecure the peace and proſperity of his ſubjects [g].

Progreſs of the reformation.

THIS ſpeech of Viglius had the deſired effect upon the regent; who immediately reſolved, without regard to what had been offered by the prince of Orange, to publiſh the decrees. But from different cauſes, both the number and courage of the reformers was now greatly augmented. In conſequence of the civil wars in France, many proteſtants of that kingdom had retired into the ſouthern provinces. And through the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſted in the way of trade between the more northern provinces and England and Germany, theſe provinces were filled with proteſtant miniſters, who, being prompted by that ardent zeal which the knowledge of important truth lately diſcovered is calculated to inſpire, exerted themſelves with unceaſing induſtry in propagating their religious tenets. The country abounded at the ſame time with books written againſt the popiſh rites and

[g] Bentivoglio, b. ii. p. 22.

BOOK VII. 1565.

doctrines. Several of the nobility, and many of the magistrates, had imbibed the new opinions. The governors of the provinces were either not inclined to execute those edicts to which they had from the beginning shewn themselves averse; or, as they often declared, they found it impracticable to carry them into execution, without laying the country waste, by forcing into exile great numbers of its most industrious inhabitants. In many places the edicts were not executed at all; and in others, the protestants were rescued by the people from the hands of the inquisitors, and the inquisitors themselves obliged to fly from the enraged multitude.

Count Egmont sent to Spain.

THE regent discovered at this time great perplexity and hesitation. She was exceedingly desirous to have her administration approved by the king, and would have gladly complied with his instructions; but she could not help being alarmed by the repeated representations which were made to her of the consequences that might arise from driving the people to despair. She therefore judged it expedient to send one of the principal nobility to Spain, to inform the king more fully than she could do by writing, of the real state of the provinces: and having made choice of count Egmont for her ambassador, as one who was equally acceptable to all parties, she employed Viglius the president to give him her instructions, in presence of the other counsellors. The prince of Orange was highly dissatisfied with the terms in which these instructions were expressed: "This representation," said he, "of the state of our affairs, is not calculated to inform the king, but to deceive him. The relation which the president has given of our calamities falls infinitely short of the truth. We must lay open from the bottom those wounds under which the country bleeds, else the king can never apply the proper cures. Let us

not, by our misrepresentations, make him believe the number of heretics to be smaller than it is. Let us acquaint him, that every province, every town, every village is full of them. Let us not conceal from him how much they despise the edicts, and how little they respect the magistrates; that he may see how impracticable it is to introduce the inquisition, and be convinced that the remedy which he would have us to apply, would be infinitely worse than the disease." He added, "That although he was a true catholic, and a faithful subject of the king, yet he thought the calamities which had been lately experienced in France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of men were not to be compelled, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion; to which it was in vain to expect that men would be brought to listen, until the present practice of butchering them like beasts was laid aside." He represented likewise the absurdity of publishing, on this occasion, the decrees of the council of Trent, and proposed that count Egmont should be instructed to request the king to suspend the publication of them till the present tumults were allayed. But the regent was either not inclined or not at liberty to follow the opinion of the prince of Orange in preference to that of Viglius. She called count Egmont apart from the council, and having given him such instructions as she thought proper, she made him set out immediately for Spain; after having flattered him with hopes that his journey thither, if he improved the opportunity afforded him, would secure him the full possession of his master's favour[b].

His reception there.

THE king received him at Madrid, and entertained him, during his stay there, with every testimony of regard. When he was

[b] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. Grotius, lib. i.

BOOK VII. 1565.

about to return, he made him a present of fifty thousand florins; and, as the count had several daughters, Philip promised to dispose of them in marriages suitable to their father's rank. The cotemporary historians differ widely in their relations of what passed with respect to the subject of his embassy. The most probable account is, that although Philip's answer was not clear and explicit, yet that he expressed himself with so much softness in speaking of the edicts, and uttered so many strong professions of affection for the people of the Netherlands, that the count, who was in the highest degree candid and sincere, was induced to believe that the king did in reality intend to alter his measures of government. It is certain[i], that he returned to the Low Countries highly satisfied with the court of Spain; and extolled the goodness of the king, and the love which he bore to his Flemish subjects. The prince of Orange was not so easily deceived. Count Egmont had been imposed upon, he said, by Spanish artifice. His private interest had blinded his penetration, and created in him an ill-grounded security with regard to the public good[k].

His return.

In consequence of his report, a conference appointed.

BUT although count Egmont was not able to satisfy the prince of Orange, it should seem that his report was credited by most of the other counsellors, and even by the regent herself; who would not otherwise have agreed to a measure which, immediately after the count's arrival, was suggested in the council. It was there proposed that a certain number of divines and lawyers should meet together in Brussels, to consider of the most effectual methods of putting a stop to the growth of heresy; and the regent readily consented to this proposal, without inquiring, as she used to do on other occasions, whether it would be agreeable to the king.

[i] Grotius. [k] Vid. William's Apology, p. 485.

To

BOOK VII. 1565.

To this conference she called the bishops of Arras, Ipres, and Namur; Ravenstenius and Jansenius, two eminent divines; the two presidents of the provincial councils of Flanders and Utrecht, and two eminent lawyers from Mechlin and Brabant.

THE result of their deliberations was, that schools for instructing youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, should be erected in all the provinces; that particular attention should be given to reform the lives of the clergy; and that in punishing heretics mild chastisements should be adopted, in the room of those severe ones, which upon trial had been found so ineffectual [1].

July. Philip offended with it.

THE regent having transmitted to the king an account of these determinations, was greatly surprised when she was informed, that far from approving them, he condemned her exceedingly for allowing the conference to be held. The subjects which had been considered in it, were points, he said, already fixed by his authority; and which, on that account, ought not to have been brought under deliberation. The disorders which occasioned so much uneasiness to the regent, had arisen from the connivance or negligence of her ministers. But if any of them were found wanting, either in courage or in zeal for the service which he required, she must immediately dismiss them, and substitute others in their place; for no service which she could perform, would be either so acceptable to him, or so conducive to his glory and interest, as the extinction of heresy in the Netherlands.

The persecutions renewed.

THE regent had, from the beginning of her administration, been extremely solicitous to gratify the court of Spain. Nothing could have made her agree to the conference, but her conviction, founded on count Egmont's report, that it would not be unac-

[1] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 25.

ceptable

BOOK VII. 1565.

ceptable to the king. As soon as she discovered her mistake, she published an edict, confirming all the former edicts, and requiring the governors and councils to proceed in the execution of them with the utmost diligence [m].

Even Viglius [n] hesitated as to the expediency of this measure at the present juncture; and it excited in the minds of the people universal indignation and astonishment. Those hopes of deliverance from their grievances, which they had conceived from count Egmont's journey to Spain, had, by his report of the king's disposition towards them, been raised to the greatest height. Their disappointment now was proportionably great. They did not blame count Egmont; for they were persuaded that he had been deceived; but they detested the duplicity and artifice of Philip and his ministers.

The count had too much sensibility not to be deeply affected on this occasion; and he complained bitterly that the king had acted with no other design in the studied kindness which he had shewn him, but to expose him to the contempt or hatred of his countrymen, and thereby to ruin his credit and influence [o].

The prince of Orange remonstrates.

The prince of Orange was almost the only person in whom this unexpected measure created no surprise. When the new edict was transmitted to him, he wrote to the regent a letter; in which he represented, "That in the present temper of the people, it was impossible for the king's servants to execute the orders imposed upon them, without involving the provinces in a civil war." "But if still," he added, "your highness be determined to have the edicts carried into immediate execution, then I must desire that some more proper person may be appointed in my

[m] Meursius Gul. Auriac. p. 4, 5. [n] Ibid. p. 4. [o] Strada, lib. iv. p. 118.

place,

BOOK VII. 1565.

place, who, poſſeſſing greater authority, may be better qualified to fulfil your intention. The king is not ignorant, that on other occaſions I have ſpared neither my perſon nor my fortune in his ſervice. My preſent conduct proceeds not from the want of loyalty or zeal, but from a perſuaſion that I cannot yield the obedience required from me, without diſhonour to myſelf, and infinite prejudice to the Netherlands [p]."

NEITHER the prince of Orange, nor the counts Egmont and Horn, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with the preſent meaſures of government in any other way than by making remonſtrances and complaints. As it was greatly their intereſt, ſo it appears to have been their ſincere deſire, to avoid incurring the king's diſpleaſure. And they ſtudied to give him every proof of fidelity that could be reaſonably expected from thoſe who were members of a free ſtate, and had ſworn to maintain the fundamental laws of the conſtitution.

THE conduct of many of the other nobles was not ſo ſcrupulous and reſerved. They ſet on foot, at this time, a confederacy, by which they bound themſelves to ſupport one another, in preventing the inquiſition from being eſtabliſhed in the Netherlands. The prime mover of this expedient was Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his addreſs, and his political abilities, who had the merit of contributing more than any other perſon (the prince of Orange alone excepted) towards accompliſhing that happy revolution, by which the northern provinces were reſcued from the Spaniſh yoke. By his advice, and according to his direction, a writing was drawn up, termed the Compromiſe, which is here

The compromiſe.

St. Aldegonde.

1566.

[p] Gen. Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

inſerted,

BOOK VII. 1566.

infested, as it marks strongly the spirit by which the people of the Netherlands were at present animated.

"WHEREAS certain malicious persons, under the cloak of zeal for the catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their misrepresentations, persuaded our lord the king to introduce into these provinces that most pernicious tribunal the inquisition; which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world; which subjects all authority to that of the inquisitors, reduces all men to a perpetual state of miserable slavery, and by the visitations which it appoints, exposes the best men to continual apprehensions; so that if a priest, a Spaniard, or wicked minion of power shall incline, he may, by means of this institution, accuse any man, however innocent, and cause him to be imprisoned, condemned, and put to death, without being confronted with his accusers, and without being allowed to bring evidence of his innocence, or to speak in his defence: For these reasons we whose names are here subscribed have resolved to provide for the security of our families, goods, and persons; and for this purpose we hereby enter into a sacred league with one another, promising with a solemn oath, to oppose, with all our power, the introduction of the above-mentioned inquisition into these provinces; whether it shall be attempted openly or secretly, and by whatever name it shall be called, whether that of Inquisition, Visitation, Commission, or Edict: declaring at the same time, that we are far from entertaining the design of attempting any thing prejudicial to the interest of our sovereign the king; but on the contrary, that our fixed intention is, to support and defend his government, to maintain peace, and to resist, to the utmost of our power,

power, all seditions, tumults, and revolts. To this agreement we have sworn; and we hereby promise and swear to maintain it for ever sacred; and we call Almighty God to witness, that neither in word nor deed shall we ever weaken or counteract it.

"We likewise promise and swear, mutually to defend one another, in all places, and on all occasions, against every attack that shall be made, or persecution that shall be raised, against any individual amongst us, on account of his concern in this confederacy. And we declare, that no pretence of the persecutors, who may allege rebellion, insurrection, or any other plea, shall exempt us from this our oath and promise. No action can deserve the name of rebellion, that proceeds from opposition to the iniquitous decrees of the inquisition; and therefore whether any of us be attacked directly on account of opposing these decrees, or under pretence of punishing rebellion or insurrection, we hereby swear to endeavour by all lawful means to procure his deliverance.

"In this and every part of our conduct regarding the inquisition, our meaning is, to submit to the general opinion of our confederates, or to that of those who shall be appointed by the rest to assist us with their counsel.

"In witness of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God, as the searcher of our hearts; humbly beseeching him to grant us the grace of his holy spirit, that all our enterprises may be attended with success, may promote the honour of his name, contribute to the welfare of our souls, and advance the peace and true interest of the Netherlands."

Such were the terms of the compromise, which was quickly circulated through the provinces, and subscribed by persons of all

 ranks,

BOOK VII. 1565.

ranks, whether catholics or protestants. Books were at the same time multiplied, in which liberty of conscience was pleaded, the absurdities in the popish doctrines and worship exposed, and hideous pictures drawn of the inquisition.

The regent felt great anxiety with regard to the consequences with which so much ill-humour and discontent were likely to be attended. She had never fully credited the representations which the prince of Orange and some of her other counsellors had often made to her. And she now complained bitterly of the situation to which she was reduced by the orders sent from Spain. "For to what purpose was it (she said) to publish edicts, when I wanted power to enforce their execution? They have served only to increase the people's audacity, and to bring my authority into contempt[q]."

Speech of the prince of Orange in the council.

The prince of Orange, and the counts Horn and Egmont, had, ever since the last republication of the edicts, absented themselves from the council. The regent now wrote to them in the most urgent manner, requiring their attendance. They readily complied; and the regent, after having informed them of her design in calling them together, desired they would deliver their opinions without reserve. The prince of Orange was among the last who rose, and he spoke as follows[r]:

"Would to Heaven I had been so fortunate as to gain belief, when I ventured to foretel what has now happened. Desperate remedies would not in that case have been first applied, nor persons who had fallen into error been confirmed in it, by the means

[q] Bentivoglio and Strada.

[r] This speech is recorded by Nicolas Burgundius, who compiled his history from the papers of the president Viglius. Vide Brandt's history of the reformation in the Netherlands.

employed

employed to reclaim them. We ſhould not certainly think favourably of a phyſician's prudence, who, in the beginning of a diſeaſe, when gentle remedies were likely to prove effectual, ſhould propoſe the burning or cutting off the part infected.

"THERE are two ſpecies of inquiſition. The one is exerciſed in the name of the pope, and the other has been long practiſed by the biſhops. To the latter, men are in ſome meaſure reconciled by the power of cuſtom; and conſidering how well we are now provided with biſhops in all the provinces, it may be reaſonably expected that this ſort will alone be found ſufficient. The former has been, and will for ever be, an object of abhorrence, and ought to be aboliſhed without delay.

"WITH reſpect to thoſe edicts which have been ſo often publiſhed againſt the innovators in religion, hearken not to me, but to your own experience, which will inform you, that the perſecutions to which they have given riſe, have ſerved only to increaſe and propagate the errors againſt which they have been exerciſed. The Netherlands have for ſeveral years been a ſchool, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of perſecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life; much leſs do they expoſe themſelves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain, exhibited by heretics in ſuffering for their religion, is calculated to produce the moſt powerful effects on the minds of ſpectators. It works on their compaſſion, it excites their admiration of the ſufferers, and creates in them a ſuſpicion, that truth muſt certainly be found where they obſerve ſo much conſtancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the ſame ſeverity in France and England as in the Low Countries. But has it been attended there with

better

BOOK VII. 1565.

better ſucceſs? On the contrary, is there not reaſon, there as well as here, to ſay what was ſaid of the chriſtians of old, That the blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church. The emperor Julian, the moſt formidable enemy whom chriſtianity ever ſaw, was fully ſenſible of the truth of this. Haraſſing and tormenting could only ſerve, he knew, to inflame that ardent zeal which he wanted to extinguiſh. He had recourſe therefore to the expedient of ridicule and contempt; and this he found to be more effectual. The Grecian empire was at different periods infected with hereſies of various kinds. Ætius taught errors in the reign of Conſtance; Neſtorius in that of Theodoſius; Arius in that of Conſtantine. No ſuch puniſhments were inflicted, either on the hereſiarchs themſelves or on their diſciples, as are now practiſed in the Netherlands; and yet where are all thoſe falſe opinions now, which the firſt broachers were at ſo much pains to propagate? Such is the nature of hereſy, if it reſts, it ruſts; but he who rubs it, whets it. Let it be neglected and overlooked, it will ſoon loſe the charm of novelty; and with that, it will loſe the greateſt part of its attractive power. But they are not the examples only of heathen princes which I would recommend to the regent's imitation. In complying with my advice, ſhe will tread in the ſteps of our late glorious emperor, her father; who from experience was convinced, that gentle meaſures were more likely to prove effectual than ſevere ones; and therefore adopted the former, in preference to the latter, for ſeveral years before his reſignation.

"The king himſelf appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients. But, through the influence of the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, he has changed his views. Let theſe men anſwer for their conduct if they can. For my own part, I am entirely ſatisfied that it is impoſſible to root out the preſent

present evils in the Netherlands by force, without shaking the State from its foundation. I conclude with reminding you of what we have all heard frequently, That the protestants in the Low Countries have opened a correspondence with those in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, lest, by imitating the French catholics in their severity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miseries of a civil war." 1565.

THIS speech was not entirely without effect. It convinced the regent, that she must either make some concessions to the confederates, or have recourse to arms. She was inclined to follow the 1566. latter of these measures, because she knew it would be more agreeable to the king; and she desired count Egmont to undertake the command of some forces which she proposed to raise in order to carry her design into execution; but the count declined accepting of it, saying, That he could not fight with honour in defence of the inquisition. The dutchess found it necessary, therefore, to embrace the other alternative, and to attempt to soothe the malcontents, by making some abatement in the rigour of the edicts[a].

MEANWHILE the number of those who had acceded to the compromise was become so considerable, that they thought it was now time to take some step towards fulfilling their engagements. With this view they set out for Brussels, where the court resided, and sent some of their number to desire leave of the regent, to lay before her their sentiments concerning a subject in which the interest of the king and their personal security were equally concerned. The counsellors were divided in their opinions with

[a] Brandt, p. 165. vol. i.

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BOOK VII. 1566.

regard to the anſwer proper to be made to this requeſt. Some of them were for rejecting it utterly; others adviſed to admit two or three of the confederates and no more; but the opinion of thoſe prevailed who thought that, at preſent, it would be imprudent to furniſh them with any juſt ground of offence, by denying them a privilege to which every inhabitant of the Netherlands was intitled; eſpecially as they were without arms, and no danger could be apprehended from admitting them.

THEY entered Bruſſels in the beginning of April one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix, in number between three and four hundred, on horſeback. Beſides count Brederode, who was deſcended from the ancient earls of Holland, there were the counts Colemberg and Treſemberg, the marquis of Mons, the baron of Montigny, and count Lewis of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange; all of them perſons of conſiderable influence in the provinces.

THEY went in a body, walking two by two, from the houſe of count Colemberg to the palace, and were received there by the regent, attended by the council of ſtate.

Petition of the nobles.

THEY began their petition with declaring, "That as hitherto they had never failed in loyalty to the king, ſo they were ſtill as much as ever determined to hold faſt their allegiance. They were ſenſible that their preſent conduct might be miſconſtrued; but they choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to this riſk, than not inform the regent of what they were convinced was of the higheſt conſequence to the intereſt both of the king and the provinces. The ſolicitude which the king had diſcovered to preſerve religion pure in the Netherlands, deſerved the higheſt praiſe; but experience had ſhewn, that the remedies employed for this purpoſe

BOOK VII. 1566.

contributed only to increase the disease. They had long flattered themselves with hopes, that the States would have been assembled, to devise means more likely to prove successful; but since this desirable event had not taken place, they thought it their duty to inform her, that if the measures of government respecting religion were not quickly altered, they were persuaded it would be impossible to prevent a general insurrection. It was therefore their earnest desire, that she would send some proper persons to the king, to acquaint him with the necessity of softening the rigour of the edicts; and they intreated her to suspend the execution of them till his pleasure should be known. But if no regard, they added, shall be paid to this our humble and most earnest prayer, we call God and the king, your highness, and these your illustrious counsellors, to witness, that we have given warning of the impending danger, and shall not be accountable for the calamities that may ensue [t]."

Answer of the regent.

To this petition the regent gave the following answer in writing: "That she was not invested by the king with power to suspend the execution of the edicts; but that she was not averse from sending some proper person to Spain, where she would willingly employ her good offices to procure them satisfaction. That, in the mean time, she would issue orders to the inquisitors to proceed in the exercise of their office with moderation; and that, in return for her concessions, she expected that the petitioners would study carefully to avoid all occasion of offence."

The confederates, much dissatisfied with this answer, insisted earnestly upon receiving one that was more explicit; and the regent, dreading the consequences of sending them away in ill-humour,

t Bentivoglio and Brandt.

BOOK VII. 1566.

mour, ordered her ſecretary to communicate to them the inſtructions which, after conſidering the matter more maturely, ſhe had reſolved to tranſmit to the inquiſitors. Theſe were, that henceforth they ſhould proceed againſt offenders in the article of religion with the utmoſt gentleneſs; and ſhould not puniſh any of them with baniſhment, impriſonment, or confiſcation, unleſs they were found guilty of ſeditious practices. And theſe inſtructions, it was added, were to remain in force till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. The confederates, on the other hand, engaged, not to attempt to make any innovation in religious matters, but to wait patiently for the determination of the aſſembly of the States; which they fondly flattered themſelves would be held ſoon, in order to put an end to all their grievances.

The marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny ſent to Spain.

AGREEABLY to her firſt declarations, the regent immediately diſpatched the marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny, to lay the petition before the king. And theſe two noblemen gladly undertook the taſk aſſigned them; little ſuſpecting either how fruitleſs their journey was to prove, as to the intention of it, or how fatal to themſelves. For, as will appear in the ſequel, Philip did not conſider them as the regent's ambaſſadors, but as perſons who had brought her under the diſagreeable neceſſity of clothing them with that character, and as the heads of a confederacy which had been formed againſt his government.

The intemperate zeal of the reformers.

IN the mean time a report was propagated in the Netherlands, that the regent had conſented to the public profeſſion of the reformed religion. In the belief of this, the people threw off the reſerve which they had hitherto maintained, and the proteſtant miniſters preached in many places to numerous aſſemblies of perſons, who came together in arms, with a reſolution to defend

 themſelves

themſelves, in caſe the inquiſitors ſhould attempt to interrupt them. From theſe aſſemblies they ſoon paſſed to open violence againſt the churches, and deſpoiled them of all their coſtly ornaments. BOOK VII. 1566.

These outrages were firſt committed in the province of Flanders; and the example of the Flemings was quickly diffuſed throughout all the provinces. In a little time afterwards the ſame tumultuous ſpirit appeared in the great commercial towns; in which, from their frequent intercourſe with foreign proteſtants, and from the ſpirit of liberty that naturally grows up in large communities, almoſt the whole body of the people had embraced the new opinions.

In Antwerp the reformers indulged themſelves in the moſt unjuſtifiable extravagancies. They inſulted the catholics when employed in the functions of their religion. They broke furiouſly into the great church, which was one of the richeſt edifices in Europe, overturned the altars, defaced the paintings, and deſtroyed all the images of the ſaints.

From the cathedral they flew with the ſame ungovernable fury to the monaſteries and convents; and there, after forcing open the gates, and obliging the monks and nuns to fly into the city for ſhelter, it appeared that, under the cover of religious zeal, many of the moſt abandoned of the people had joined with the reformers, and embraced the preſent opportunity of gratifying their rapacity. The ſame riotous ſpirit appeared in numberleſs other places. It ſpread like a conflagration over all the provinces; meeting everywhere with the ſame combuſtible materials, and everywhere producing the ſame pernicious effects.

BOOK VII. 1566.

In Bruſſels they were overawed by the preſence of the court: yet even there, they had, in ſome meaſure, thrown off their wonted reſerve; and the regent, apprehenſive that her perſon was in danger, reſolved to reſide in Mons. This reſolution gave much uneaſineſs to the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn; who ſaw how much diſhonour it would reflect on them, to have it believed that the perſon of the princeſs was inſecure, where *they* were inveſted with ſuch high command, and poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive influence. They employed every argument that could prevail upon her to alter her intention. They pledged their lives and fortunes for her ſafety; and promiſed to exert their utmoſt power in quelling thoſe diſorders which were the cauſe of her inquietude. At length ſhe yielded to their intreaties, and conſented ſtill to remain at Bruſſels [a].

The ſucceſs and zeal of the prince of Orange in quelling the tumults.

The ſeveral governors ſoon after ſet out for their reſpective provinces. The prince of Orange, beſides being governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, was viſcount and governor of Antwerp. And even the popiſh hiſtorians acknowledge, that, having often gone thither, he had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in quieting the tumults occaſioned by the intemperate zeal of the reformers. At this time he ordered three of the rioters to be executed, and fined and baniſhed ſeveral of the reſt. He again opened the great church, and reſtored the exerciſe of the catholic religion.

August.

But finding it impoſſible to prevent the proteſtants from holding their religious meetings, he entered into an agreement with the perſons of greateſt influence among them, by which they were allowed to exerciſe their religion in churches within

[a] Bentivoglio, Brandt, &c.

the city, provided that they should come together without arms; that they should give no annoyance to the catholics; and that their preachers should refrain from all invectives against the established church. And he consented that this agreement should remain in force till he should know the pleasure of the king; to whom the protestants engaged to submit, or immediately to leave the Netherlands.

The regent approved of every part of William's conduct on this occasion, except his allowing the reformers to hold their meetings within the town. In order to satisfy her on this head, he represented, that he had granted them this indulgence from a conviction which experience had already confirmed, that by means of it he could more easily prevent the pernicious effects of their extravagance; that when they were under his own eye, or that of the magistrates, their assemblies were not near so numerous as formerly; their preachers were not so apt to indulge their enthusiasm, or to use indecent freedoms with the government; nor the people so apt to be inflamed, as when they assembled without restraint in the open fields. This measure, he added, was not only expedient, but necessary. There was no room for authority or persuasion. The reformers had shewn themselves unalterably determined to set up their worship within the city, whether he had permitted them or not. Their assemblies in the country had generally amounted to twenty-four or twenty-five thousand. Even in the town they were seldom less than ten thousand. He had no army to reduce so great a number to obedience; and not a single person among the catholic inhabitants could be persuaded to take up arms against them[v].

[v] Brandt. Van Meteren, lib. ii.

BOOK VII. 1566.

After quieting the disturbances in Antwerp, the prince set out for the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where his presence was equally necessary. There too, as in Antwerp, he employed all his power and influence; and did more towards quelling the tumultuous spirit of the reformers, than any other person could have done, without an armed force to overawe them. He persuaded them to restore the churches which they had usurped; and, except in one or two places, they were satisfied with the liberty which the regent was willing to allow, of holding their assemblies for religious worship in the suburbs of the towns, or in the country.

Count Egmont's success.

Count Egmont was no less active in his department. From natural temper, as well as from political principles, no man was more averse from harshness and severity; yet being strongly prompted on this occasion by his desire of gratifying the king, he was at the utmost pains to discover the rioters, and punished many of them with rigour. He restored the priests to their functions, opened the churches which had been shut, and reduced all the protestants within his government to the necessity of acquiescing in the conditions which the regent had prescribed.

Count Horn's success.

Count Horn likewise acted with uncommon spirit and vigour in the city of Tournay, where the disorders had risen to a greater height than in other places. The inhabitants of that city, to the number of six thousand, having taken arms, laid siege to the garrison. They soon reduced it to such extremity, as obliged the commander to inform the regent, that if she did not send him immediate relief, he could not hold out longer than one day. She had not troops sufficient to oppose so great a force; nor was there any

BOOK VII. 1566.

any other expedient in her power, by which ſhe could preſerve the garriſon from ſurrendering, but that of ſending count Horn, their governor's [w] brother, to intercede with the inhabitants. The count forced his way, at the hazard of his life, into the midſt of them; and with great addreſs perſuaded them not only to deſiſt from the blockade, but to lay down their arms, to yield up the churches which they had uſurped, and to reſt ſatisfied with certain places of worſhip which he aſſigned them without the city [x].

Grounds of Philip's averſion from theſe noblemen.

FROM this repreſentation of the conduct of the prince of Orange and the counts Horn and Egmont, they had very little reaſon, it ſhould ſeem, to dread the king's diſpleaſure. For they were not leſs active, nor leſs ſucceſsful than the other governors [y], with whom Philip is ſaid to have been entirely ſatisfied. But the diſapprobation which they had diſcovered of his meaſures of government ſome years before; the objections which they had urged againſt his retaining the Spaniſh forces in the Low Countries; the neceſſity to which they had reduced him, of removing Granvelle; their frequent remonſtrances in the council againſt the inquiſition and edicts; and the attachment which they had ever ſhewn to the liberty and conſtitutional privileges of the provinces; all theſe cauſes had alienated him entirely from them, and had begotten in his dark revengeful mind, a degree of hatred and reſentment, which neither time, repentance, nor faithful ſervices, could eraſe.

THESE noblemen had been diſappointed of the private, as well as public advantages which they expected to derive from the re-

[w] The Baron de Montigny, at this time in Spain.

[x] Brandt, Meteren, &c.

[y] The Counts Aremberg and Megen.

moval

BOOK VII. 1566.

moval of Granvelle. Viglius and count Barliamont were equally their enemies as the cardinal, and equally disposed to put malicious interpretations on their conduct. In these they were powerfully seconded by Granvelle; who, some time after his leaving the Netherlands, had been called to Madrid, where he enjoyed his wonted influence. This he did not fail to employ against his enemies in the Netherlands; and he found it easy to persuade the king, that in secret they had been abettors of all the disturbances which had arisen. Philip was therefore fired with indignation against them, and resolved sooner or later to make them feel the weight of his resentment. At present, however, he thought it necessary to conceal his sentiments; and in his answer to the account of the late transactions transmitted to him by the regent, he expressed his gratitude for the zeal that had been discovered in his service, and exhorted her, and the governors of the provinces, to continue their endeavours to allay the tumults in the best manner which the present circumstances would permit.

Forces levied.

WITH this answer he sent money, and an order for raising a body of catholic troops, upon whose fidelity he could depend for an absolute compliance with his will.

THE regent was not remiss in executing this order. She immediately levied a body of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry; of which she gave the command to the counts Erbestain, Charles of Mansfelt, Reuls, Baron Schomberg, and the Sieur de Hierges, son of count Barlaimont.

THE prince of Orange and the counts Horn and Egmont could easily discern the design of this armament; and they declared their disapprobation of it in the council, as a measure calculated to rekindle the flames of discord and sedition.

THEY

BOOK VII. 1566. Discovery of Philip's designs.

THEY were at the same time informed by letters from the marquis of Mons, and the baron of Montigny, that whatever public answer had been sent from the court of Spain to the dutchess of Parma, it was known to every person at Madrid, that the king was highly offended at the concessions which *they* had made lately to the protestants. That they were considered as fomenters of the tumults, and encouragers of heresy. That the king and his ministers talked now more explicitly than they had hitherto done. The compromise had no other name given it but that of a conspiracy; and the popular insurrections were never mentioned but as an open rebellion. There was no longer any room to doubt that the king, by the advice of Granvelle and Alva, was determined to wreck his resentment on all concerned, and particularly on them, whom he considered as the most guilty. And although at first domestic forces only were to be employed, yet their operations would soon be seconded by those of Spain.

THE prince of Orange had several times desired leave of the regent to resign his employments; alleging, that it was impossible for him at once to discharge his duty to his country, and to satisfy the king. The regent had as often refused to consent to his request; and had accompanied her refusal with expressions of high regard, and with intreaties that he would not forsake her at a time when his assistance was more than ever necessary. On the present occasion he made the same application to the king, who gave him the same answer, and employed the same expressions of regard and confidence [p].

[p] Bentivoglio. See the letter annexed to William's Apology.

BUT

BOOK VII. 1566. BUT the prince had received intelligence of Philip's moſt ſecret councils; and knew that his real ſentiments were entirely different from thoſe which he profeſſed. Through a correſpondence which he held in France, he had procured a copy of a letter to the regent, from Alava the Spaniſh miniſter at Paris, which confirmed the information that had been tranſmitted by the marquis of Mons and the baron of Montigny. In this letter, Alava particularly inſiſted on the preſent favourable opportunity of eſtabliſhing in the Low Countries that unlimited authority which the king had long ſo earneſtly deſired. He adviſed the regent, as matters were not yet ripe for execution, to meet the ſmooth faces of Orange, Horn, and Egmont, with the ſame artifice which they had employed; and concluded with informing her, that the king, who knew them to be fomenters of all the diſturbances which had happened, would ſoon pay them the wages of their iniquity; and had ſworn to puniſh *them* and the other inhabitants of the Netherlands in the moſt exemplary manner[q].

1567. Conference at Dendremonde. THIS letter the prince of Orange communicated to his brother count Lewis, and to the counts Egmont, Horn, Hoogſtraten, and ſeveral others of the nobility; who met together in Dendremonde, to deliberate concerning the meaſures which it would be proper to purſue. Count Lewis, who was naturally bold and ardent, urged that they ſhould immediately incite the people to take up arms; but his brother the prince of Orange diſapproved of this propoſal, and obſerved, that if they ſhould begin to wage war

[q] The concluding words of the letter are, "in a manner, that would make the ears "of all Chriſtendom tingle, even though it ſhould put in danger all the reſt of his domi-"nions." Brandt, 216. Reidanus, p. 3. Meteren, lib. ii.

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in the present situation of affairs, they would neither be able to carry it on with success, nor to justify their conduct in undertaking it. That the inquisition and edicts were in effect abolished; and a reasonable liberty allowed in matters of religion. That, considering the tumults which had been excited, the regent could not be greatly blamed for raising forces; especially since she had levied none but such as were natives of the Netherlands. At present they could not allege any good reason for having recourse to arms; but he believed that ere long the best and strongest reasons would not be wanting. And in the mean time his advice was, not only to be on their guard themselves, but likewise to awaken in the people a sense of the danger with which they were threatened, that they might be prepared for entering upon action when the proper season should arrive.

Had count Egmont been of the same opinion with the prince of Orange on this occasion, it is not to be doubted that all who were present would have concurred in the measures which he advised; and considering the greatness of their power and popularity, they might have induced the king to drop his plan, by making him sensible of the difficulty of carrying it into execution.

But they were all exceedingly disappointed when they heard count Egmont declare, "That far from taking part in any measure that might be offensive to the king, he looked upon every such measure as equally imprudent and undutiful. That from the enormities which had been committed, the king had some reason to entertain suspicions of their vigilance. That, for his own part, he was resolved, if possible, to wipe out these suspicions, by

BOOK VII. 1567.

exerting himself ſtrenuouſly to reduce the people to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity and obedience; which if he and the other governors could accompliſh in their reſpective provinces, he believed they ſhould hear no more of the Spaniſh forces; for, after what the king had repeatedly told him when in Spain, he could not regard what he had heard of his intention to rob the Netherlands of their liberty."

THE prince of Orange and the other diſcontented lords ſpent ſeveral hours in attempting to bring him over to their opinion, but in vain. Although, as is above related, the count had received ſufficient proof of Philip's inſincerity in his diſcourſe with him at Madrid, yet the concern which he had appeared to take in the intereſt of his family, joined to his profeſſions of perſonal attachment, had impoſed upon him ſo far as to prevent him from perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed [b].

The nobility concur with the regent.

THUS diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of a perſon [illegible] ſo great influence, the other lords ſaw that nothing remained for them, but to conciliate Philip's favour, by an active concurrence with the regent in the meaſures which ſhe was about to employ for the perfect ſettlement of the country.

Her ſucceſs in ſuppreſſing the reformers.

A GREAT deal had been already done for this end by the governors of the provinces; but matters were not yet entirely upon the footing on which the regent deſired to have them placed. The zeal of the reformers burnt with too much violence to be reſtrained by the authority of the magiſtrates, and ſtill continued to diſcover itſelf in the moſt unjuſtifiable irregularities; particularly in the city of Valenciennes, where the common people had almoſt univerſally embraced the reformation. The ſtrength

[b] Bentivoglio.

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BOOK VII. 1567.

and populousness of that city, its neighbourhood to France, and the correspondence which the people held with the protestants in that kingdom, were powerful motives with the regent for desiring to have a garrison placed in it, composed of those troops which had been lately raised. She wished to have had them admitted with the consent of the inhabitants; but finding that it could not be obtained, she declared them rebels to the king, and ordered the lord of Noircharmes to besiege the town. The citizens seemed at first resolved to defend themselves; but when they saw the batteries ready to play, their courage failed, and they surrendered the city at discretion. Noircharmes no sooner entered it, than he ordered the governor and his son, the protestant ministers, and several of the inhabitants who had been the most active in the late disturbances, to be put to death; after which, having prohibited the public exercise of the reformed religion, he left a strong garrison in the place, under the command of a rigid catholic.

THE success of the regent's arms filled the protestants with terror, and inspired the catholics with fresh courage and resolution. She was not less successful in Tournay, Bois le Duc, and many other places. She even persuaded the city of Antwerp to receive a garrison, by means of which the catholic party acquired so great authority, and the reformers were so much intimidated, that, without opposition, she banished all the protestant preachers, and abolished the exercise of their religion [c].

Count Brederode.

COUNT Brederode and some others of the confederated lords had recourse at this time to their first expedient of a petition or

[c] Bentivoglio, p. 47.

BOOK VII. 1567. remonſtrance. But neither the regent nor the confederates were now in the ſame ſituation as formerly. She had no longer any reaſon to be afraid of them, ſince ſhe was ſo well provided with an armed force; and many of them having before this time become ſenſible of their weakneſs, had ſtudied to convince her that they were now entirely devoted to her ſervice.

COUNT Brederode deſired to be admitted into her preſence, but this ſhe refuſed; and vouchſafed no other anſwer to his petition, but "That he, and thoſe who concurred with him, had wreſted her conceſſions into a ſenſe which ſhe had never meant; and, by encouraging riots and tumults, had broken their agreement with her, and thereby forfeited their title to complain [d]."

FROM this anſwer Brederode perceived there was no other reſource left him but force of arms. Reſolved to try his fortune in this way, he went immediately into Holland, and having drawn together a body of troops, he fortified himſelf in the town of Vianen. But the counts Aremberg and Megen coming ſuddenly upon him, he was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of retiring into Germany. He returned to the Low-Countries in the year following, and died in the town of Harnhoff [e]. He was a perſon much reſpected by the proteſtants, but appears to have poſſeſſed more zeal than capacity, and to have been in no reſpect qualified to be the leader of a party.

Tranquillity eſtabliſhed.

AFTER count Brederode was expelled, the reformers had nowhere courage to lift their heads. The ſtorm which had raged with ſo much fury was ſucceeded by a perfect calm. The churches

[d] Brandt and Bentivoglio. [e] Brandt.

were repaired, the altars restored, the images replaced, and the magistrates respected and obeyed, in the same manner as before the disturbances began; while the discontented lords seemed now to have no other ambition, but to surpass one another in giving proofs of their attachment to the regent, and of their zeal in the service of the church and of the king [f].

[f] Bentivoglio, p. 48.